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ROYAL COMMISSION INQUIRY INTO LABOUR DISPUTES

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HEARINGS HELD AT

TORONTO

VOL. NO.

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DATE

April 13, 1967

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IN THE MATTER OF The Public Inquiries Act, R.S.O. 1960, Ch. 323

- and -

IN THE MATTER OF an Inquiry Into Labour Disputes

BEFORE:

The Honourable Ivan C. Rand. Commissioner, at The Toronto Professional Building, 123 Edward Street, Toronto, Ontario, on Thursday, April 13th, 1967.

E. Marshall Pollock

Counsel to the Commission

APPEARANCES:

Ontario Municipal Mr. Rich Phillips Dr. J.D. Fleming, Pres. Electric Association Mr. John McBeth

Mr. E. Nokes

London, Ontario Mr. Elmo Curtis

Mr. A.L. Furanna

Mr. V. Skurjat, Manager) Textile Workers of America

Mr. George Watson, Dir. Mr. John Whitehouse

Mr. B. Clark, Int. Rep.

Mr. Leo Tessier

Mr. M. Davidson 23

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Netherest of Floory Toronto, Ortaria

Toronto, Ontario

---On commencing at 10:00 m.m.

MR. POLKOCK: Would the

gentiemen from the Onterto Numicipal Blackric
Association come forward please? Mr. McBeth

MR. McBETH: I would be happy

to stand if I may do so.

First, I might say, Im-

Commissioner, that the Ontario Municipal
Electric Association is the body of the
nublic utilities across the province of
Ontario. As you know, most of the nomelations
governing the ghold utilities across this
province are elected to office. Some of them
are appointed. The City of Tormits are
appointed by council but where I come from
the borough of Stoblooke, we are slected.
The majority are elected and sack of them
commissions have banded together under the

Association and it is this Association than

municipalities own and manage their eleutric

the Province of the Ontario Hudge, the Province



Ontario Hydro supplies the power, and it has some rural distribution of its own and it distributes power in the northern community and farming communities, but to a place like the City of Toronto, it sells its power to the Toronto Hydro Electric Commission and the Toronto Hydro Electric Commission is the retailer or the one who distributes that power.

THE COMMISSIONER: I don't suppose there is any distribution by private companies?

MR. McBETH: There are a few sort of semi-private. For many years the Town of Orillia had its own system and I don't know if Mr. Nokes can tell me how many there are in the province.

MR. NOKES: It would be Cornwall, Gananoque, Fenelon Falls and I think maybe one or two others.

THE COMMISSIONER: Didn't Ottawa once have it that way?

MR. NOKES: Yes, sir, it did.

MR. McBETH: Ottawa is a member of the O.M.E.A., or the Commission is and that is roughly the system.

So we are speaking on behalf of the collective utilities that retain electric power in the province and, as such, we have a monopoly apart from these one or two that you have brought to our attention.





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Now, I am prepared to read the brief, Mr. Commissioner, if you wish. If you have looked over it - I don't want to ask if you have done your homework ---

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes. we have read it.

MR. McBETH: Then, if you have read it, I would rather confine myself to a few general remarks and if you have any questions that I can answer, I would be glad to attempt to do so.

Our brief, of necessity, has followed very closely that presented by the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission because we both, I believe, have one story to tell and that story is the same.

We impress upon you the importance of hydro supplied to the public. I don't think I need to do that, but it is something that you, yourself, are well familiar with, how important it is to us today, the supply and constant, dependable supply that hydro is. I only refer you to the blackout that happened two Novembers ago - a blackout which took place mainly for about 12 hours and the serious consequences in many parts of the eastern continent that that blackout hit. So I don't think I need to tell you how important hydro is and the dependable supply.

THE COMMISSIONER: I suppose for





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lighting purposes you have a complete monopoly.

MR. McBETH: Yes, sir.

THE COMMISSIONER: Nobody

uses gas now for lighting.

MR. McBETH: I wouldn't say nobody. I think it is used in some of the fancy restaurants and I know a street in Etobicoke where they have both gas and for efficiency purposes they have hydro and for more decorative purposes they have gas. But I have been to places where they use gas, but I think there are many buildings, such as the hospitals that we are surrounded with in this location, that depend almost entirely upon the supply of electricity.

Now, true, they may have standby units, but my understanding of the standby units is that these would be there to supply the very essential hydro such as maybe lights in operating rooms, or operating room equipment, but would not, say, supply hydro for their kitchens or heating or that sort of thing.

THE COMMISSIONER: What about the supply of gas in relation to heating or generating power.

MR. McBETH: Certainly there are many homes and buildings around the province that are heated by gas and I wouldn't question that, but I don't think many of them have an alternative - that is gas or hydro. I





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think they have either one or the other.

THE COMMISSIONER: And is electricity essential to the use of gas for heating purposes?

MR. McBETH: I believe it is.

I know it is for oiling heating but I don't know about the gas. Do you know that Mr.

Nokes?

MR. NOKES: I believe they
have, or are working on a gas operated
thermostat but, as I understand it at the
present time, most thermostats are electrically
operated and this is the mechanism that
controls it.

MR. McBETH: Certainly it is for oil heating in any event.

THE COMMISSIONER: What about ordinary heating purposes? Do you have as much of that as there is by gas?

MR. McBETH: We have a growing demand and I think the major heating is oil but this is certainly one of the outlets or the markets that the hydro is trying to expand and again I hesitate to use reference to my own community but in Etobicoke we have many of our new buildings heated by electricity, the new apartment buildings and, of course, this has the advantage of cleanliness and freedom from air polution and we are encouraging it. It is still a little more expensive than





some of the other modes but it is competitive, and is growing in popularity.

THE COMMISSIONER: Now, just exactly how would you describe the effect of that blackout? What was really paralysed? Certainly lighting would be.

MR. McBETH: Of course, in a building without heat and that depended upon electric heat, I suppose 12 hours in November it wouldn't be that bad but if it was 24 hours in a heavy frost in December, it would freeze the plumbing and completely ruin part of the structure let alone put the people out on the streets seeking some other accommodation. I think that blackout was very serious in regard to elevator conditions in New York. It was not of that long duration here, but I think in the New York area they suffered the most and I understand that there were people trapped in elevators for a considerable length of time and that they had to be freed from those elevators in darkness - that is they didn't have electricity to supply.

I think it was serious in some hospitals. I have no more detailed knowledge than perhaps you have, other than reading from newspapers. There are, of course, such things as artificial lungs which you occasionally hear about in private

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homes where an invalid is laid up in a private home, depending upon artificial breathing of some sort. It is very serious, of course, if the hydro goes off there.

One of our problems - and you talk about strike action - well, we will meet essential services and we will supply and our problem is that our wires are all hooked up in areas rather than a special wire to a hospital or a separate wire to a home with an iron lung in it. If you are supplying one you are supplying all. So that type of difficulty is before us.

You may recall that the City of Toronto, about a year ago, was threatened with a strike by the employees and at that time, the province realized what a bad thing this would be because once the strike gets under way, as you know, the machinery to settle it takes a little while to come into operation. Very rarely do I think you find a strike settled within 24 hours. So the province, realizing what would happen, in its wisdom, passed legislation to make the settlement compulsory, or brought out compulsory settlement.

Now, I think what we are suggesting is that if this was a good thing for Toronto, the province, in its wisdom, decided it would not permit a strike of electrical





utilities in this city, the same applies to Ottawa and the same applies to London and the same applies to rural communities, or any place there may be a hospital or any place there may be people who are dependent upon electricity.

So that if this is good emergency legislation, certainly it would be good to have that there all of the time.

Now, with regard to the right that we referred to - people's right to strike - this I know has developed over the years. At one time, if two people got together to sort of conspire to hold their services from an employer in the early days, this was regarded, I think, as a conspiracy. We have come a full cycle, I think, on that. The individual's right to strike and to get together with other workers and to decide not to work but to strike, has been regarded now - has come to be regarded - as a fundamental right.

But I wonder if we haven't gone
the full circle when the purposes that we
recognize this right for, have now been achieved
or many of them, and none of us will say that
strong unions have not accomplished a great
deal for all of us and for the community.
But having accomplished this, I am wondering
now, in such basic industry as hydro and police





and fire, where you have this compulsory arbitration, if in fact, when two people in these fields get together and conspire not to work, if it is not a conspiracy against the public again because of the importance, the extreme dependability that the community has now on police and fire services, because of the change in our community set-up.

nothing comparable to electricity; we could go out and supply our own heat and we could go out and do so many things for ourselves. But in our complex community today, we are so dependent upon some of these things that it seems to me that we have gone full circle and today, when two people get together and say "Let's cut off hydro, if that will whieve our individual ends", I think that really amounts to conspiracy against the public interests.

THE COMMISSIONER: You don't operate this for the contemplation of making a profit, that you go to the general expenses of a municipality?

MR. McBETH: No, sir. Some communities, I think, do, but the act - and when I say "do", if they do, as I understand it they should not. And this is one reason why our Association has argued very strongly





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that hydro commissions should be kept apart from the general councils governing the municipality and this has been done to date so that any profits we may make are either going back into the business or used to reduce hydro cost. It is not used, and should not be used ----

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, it is not the theory of public municipal administration. Take your water system.

The purpose of that is not to make a profit but to supply municipal works.

MR. McBETH: I think that was Adam Beck's basic idea, that the supply of power belonged to the people and the essense of Ontario Hydro is electricity at cost.

THE COMMISSIONER: So you really represent the people and the municipality.

MR. McBETH: That is right and we represent those who work for us as much as we represent any other citizen in a municipality. In other words, I may be at the present time in a managerial position on the local hydro Commission and have no more interest in seeing that the Commission run economically and to the best advantage than an employee, who works for us and also lives in the same community because the rates he pays for his service are the very same as the rates that I pay.





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MR. POLLOCK: With the only exception, of course, that in your personal capacity you are more charged with the efficient operation of the plant and the employee and if it operates efficiently - that is if the rates are kept down and if they are in some cases kept down at the expense of the people working in the establishment - then I suppose some may feel that is to your credit.

MR. McBETH: There is no question of that. If I am a politician and want to be elected again, it is certainly in my interest to have a good record of good public management and yet this is where the poor politician is in a very insidious position, in that the people who think well of you often don't say so and the people who think ill of you are very prone to say so.

THE COMMISSIONER: That is one of the penalties of living.

in an elected position most of these employees likewise have votes and are very ready at election time and you may recall last year the City of Toronto and the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto were both faced with strikes and I believe that was timed perfectly to come about in November just a very few days before the nomination meeting. This is again one reason perhaps





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compulsory arbitration should be in this field because on page four I believe we point out some of the disadvantages of a political corporation. It is not as though we were paid management who could sit back free of the public and not be under the same public pressure that some of the other people are.

MR. POLLOCK: How long could you continue to produce power in your circumstances and distribute power if your employees in one locality went on strike?

MR. McBETH: I think the answer to that is indefinitely, provided no interruption was caused or came about. In other words, it doesn't take much to operate the system provided everything is running smoothly. It is only when there is a power storm or at least a storm that affects the power lines or where some malfunction happens in some of our equipment, that you need people at all, almost, in hydro. It is an automatic thing but it is only when there is equipment failure that you really need these people. But equipment failure can happen at any instant, either by an act of God or by sabotage or something of that nature. Once that happens you are in difficulty immediately and your supply is gone almost immediately. There are no alternatives.





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from your opening remark that your concern as distinct from the Ontario Hydro's concern, is for the distributing function rather than the production function, and that so long as Ontario Hydro is producing you could distribute so long as your lines don't break down or your transformers are destroyed, or something like that.

MR. McBETH: I think that is a fair statement.

THE COMMISSIONER: But you do have a substantial force don't you?

MR. McBETH: Oh, yes. Each of these public utilities has sufficient force.

There are people who read the meters and people who operate the switches and that instal the electric wiring on the streets that supply the wiring into your house.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, take any community. How many men do you employ who come under the union?

DR. FLEMING: In the Town of Dundas, which is my home municipality, it has a population of 15 thousand people approximately and our electrical utility services about 45 hundred services and we have a staff of 15 or 18 who are solely concerned with the operation of that electrical utility.

MR. McBETH: Both the men in





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the field.

DR. FLEMING: Yes, and I would think that this proportion, maybe three or four employees per thousand customers - it might be a little lower in the larger municipalities, but it would run something in this order, I would think.

MR. POLLOCK: These are maintenance people as distinct from meter readers?

DR. FLEMING: Yes, these are maintenance linemen and trouble men of all types.

THE COMMISSIONER: And they require substantial skills.

DR. FLEMING: Very definitely, yes. Our men are working as high as 27 thousand volts and this is not something to be tampered with lightly, as I am sure you appreciate.

MR. POLLOCK: So that, until such an occasion arose where extraordinary repairs would be required - and I mean apart from the ordinary maintenance and preventive maintenance - you could operate forever, I suppose even if one area of your function - the meter readers, I suppose - went out.

DR. FLEMING: May I cite
one instance that happened in our town last
summer. We have a large stone quarry in the





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Town of Dundas, Canada Crushed Stone. Many man trucks every day come out of that quarry loaded and they go down a little bit of a hill and one of the trucks coming out of that quarry last summer had a failure in the brake system and the driver was able to control the system so that it didn't cause damage to people but in his efforts to miss some children who were playing, he took off a hydro pole, one of our main feeder poles and a good section of our town was blacked out just like that. It happened just at 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon but because the crews had not yet checked out for the day we had men on the scene within minutes and within 45 minutes we had service restored on a temporary basis to that area.

The only point that I strive to make is that you know not when some sort of disaster is going to strike.

MR. POLLOCK: And I suppose the union position in those circumstances is that if you've got that type of disaster situation, they will come back to work and provide that service.

DR. FLEMING: Yes, in union contract, of course, this all comes under overtime and it is well looked after.

MR. POLLOCK: I was thinking of the suggestion made by the unions in





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opposition to the essential service argument that they are prepared to provide emergency services of that nature as long as there is that type of emergency, and I don't think anybody in the union would quarrel with the fact.

DR. FLEMING: Well, if the union, of course, happens to be on strike when something like this happens, then I don't know what would happen. I would think you would have considerable difficulty in getting the men out.

THE COMMISSIONER: But there is the possibility?

DR. FLEMING: Well, you don't have much risk.

THE COMMISSIONER: But what about strikes?

DR. FLEMING: No, we haven't had that many strikes.

THE COMMISSIONER: But in the province there is a minimum, then.

DR. FLEMING: I would think so, yes, and of course I think that strike action is perhaps more likely to happen in the larger sectors. I think smaller municipalities - the whole picture is a little freer than it may be in the larger centre.

MR. POLLOCK: I imagine that the unions that represent your employees





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appreciate the vital service that is rendered by the Commission and I think perhaps maybe there is some greater degree of responsibility on their shoulders as well as there is on yours.

DR. FLEMING: We would hope so, yes.

MR. POLLOCK: So that you generally operate it under the aegis of collective bargaining and have concluded satisfactory agreements.

DR. FLEMING: In our case, yes.

MR. McBETH: You asked if
there had been strikes and there have been
a few throughout the province. A perfect
experience was some suggestion of improper
action which resulted in some fairly serious
tie-ups in the system.

THE COMMISSIONER: Did it last for any length of time?

MR. McBETH: Several months,

I am told, at Scarborough - the borough of

Scarborough - a few years ago had strikes

which have lasted for some length of time

and I don't know of any serious damage.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, how did it manage at that time?

MR. McBETH: I think they did

it with management personnel for the most part

and it carried on, but they did not - as I

understand it - run into any of these serious





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purpose of strike action, as I understand it, is to conduct a war, it is to hurt the other side. If a strike doesn't hurt the other side, there is really no point in calling it or no point in locking your people out unless you are going to hurt them in the pocket book. So that it is only if strike action can hurt that it has any purpose at all and we are suggesting that this is the very purpose that should be kept from happening. It should be prohibited. But the general community should not be allowed to suffer because of the action of a group of this nature to obtain a minority gain.

Now this is recognizing the advantage to society over the years that the right to strike has been brought about. Now you say then, "Why can we take away from a group?". I would suggest to you, gentlemen, that we feel this way about it. It is up to other industries and not police and not municipal employees and in the electrical field or in the fire fighting field, so set the general standard of wages, the general standard of working conditions. But this must be up to some other industry that is more specific, that is where delays will not have the same disadvantage to the community.

I mentioned the steel industry





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and the automotive industry. These have traditionally been the leaders who set the scale pattern and we all know that if a farmer gets so much and the steel worker gets so much, and the plumber gets so much, generally speaking, they are the ones that decide whether we are going to have four week's holidays after so many years or three week's holidays.

Now I am suggesting that if certain people such as police and fire and electrical people are denied the right to strike and these other industries still have that right, that they will be barometers and that they will be adequate to set the working conditions to accomplish what the right of strike has accomplished for society, and at the same time, the society will be protected. Most of these people are employed by a public employer - like the fire department and the police and public utilities - and their real right is not in this right that they are fairly treated, to see that they are fairly treated is not in their ability to hurt the public whom they serve but their right is in the fair-mindedness of public employers. In other words, the press makes sure that the public employees get a fair I think most of the public wants deal. to make sure that their servants are adequately





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paid.

I see editorials in the Toronto papers the last few days suggesting that the police should have more pay than they are getting. I think that there are adequate protections if this right to strike is taken from them, from the fact that they are public employees and that the public opinion will see that they are fairly dealt with and I also suggest to you, gentlemen, that there is some advantage in having arbitration, in that it removes the fear of strike.

many men who wish that they did not have
the right to strike or that their company
was not going out to strike. I am sure
that, although this is something that we
have regarded as a right, that there are
many common, simple working men that would
be very pleased and very happy in many
instances to know that they were not going
to be called out a week before Christmas
or some other time.

So that with the disadvantage of losing the right to strike, I suggest that they gain a right and that is the freedom from fear of strike.

Now, sir, I would again draw your attention to our last three recommendations





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or three points that we make on page 9. are a little contrite to the Ontario Hydro brief in that we feel that since strike action can be so important in something like hydro, yet we have not got time to engage in the present legislation to the labour board, that it must be faster than this. If it is an illegal strike, surely the best person to say whether it is legal or not is the They are the best equipped both by tradition and practice and let us not waste time with labour boards; let us have the right to go directly to the court and in the public interest, we feel this must be maintained.

MR. POLLOCK: The converse of that argument is the advance of this equal strength in favour of labour relations board saying that they are the ones who have experienced labour problems and they are the ones who know what labour relations is all about and they see more strikes and labour disputes than any courts. Why ought they not to be the ones?

I think our answer MR. McBETH: to that is the time element, that the court is still regarded, as I understand it, as the final word on this and it is the time of having to appeal to the labour relations board first and then face a yes - then you have to

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go on to the court for your final authority.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, you get the declaration that the strike is unlawful from the labour relations board and then you can, I suppose, in a short period, get the consent to prosecute, if that is what you mean. But it has been the experience of the labour relations board that it is sufficient in a large number of circumstances to get the declaration that this is - so far as the employers are concerned - to get the declaration that this strike is unlawful and it has the happy effect of returning some people to work.

MR. McBETH: Our only problem is, as I say, if a strike is occuring and is not hurting, I suppose it doesn't bother anybody, but a strike that is occuring and is hurting, that is somebody is suffering by it, then 24 hours is too long to remain on strike.

MR. POLLOCK: Of course, there are more than economic issues in the strike aspect. There are psycological, I suppose, and emotional feelings when the employees go on strike, even if they don't, in fact, hurt the employer economically, they have at least shown the "boss" that they don't have to take his answer as final in relation to these things. They can go on strike and





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they are free people in our society and independent and it is difficult to measure that. You can't put dollars and cents in it like you can in the economic game and that certainly has been suggested as one of the factors in the strike atmosphere.

MR. McBETH: I don't deny that, sir, and I think it is one of those things that we have grown to regard as part of our democratic heritage, that we do have this right, but this is what I am trying to suggest has gone the full circle; that this right has achieved its purpose and now is beginning to be used as a tyrany against the public and not one of those things that helps to advance society, in certain circumstances and I am suggesting that hydro is one of those circumstances.

passed to me that the public utilities

Commission in London has voted to go out on strike but no date has been set for that.

Now that is only the threat of strike.

There have actually been strikes in hydro but again, I come back to the Toronto situation where the provincial legislature said we must not permit a strike in the electrical utility field to happen.

MR. POLLOCK: In some

circumstances.





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MR. McBETH: Well, I don't know if Toronto is any different from Hamilton or any other community where certainly you have a collection of circumstances here in Toronto but you might have any one of those individual circumstances exist in any of the other communities.

MR. POLLOCK: We had a prolonged strike in Perth, or some other place. So that all the strikes that occur in the organizations and on whose behalf you speak, don't necessarily result in that type of emergency.

MR. McBETH: That is true.

As I say, we can go on with our management staff maybe for months but if it is hurting, then it is not hurting us as management, the it is hurting/public generally.

MR. POLLOCK: It is hurting the public in the sense of not having to pay more money because I don't know whether that is a value that you can support, but I think it is hurting them in the sense that it is depriving them of an essential service. That is the point you are talking about.

MR. McBETH: Yes, an essential service upon which life, health or safety may depend.

MR. NOKES: May I speak, sir.

This business of Perth had certain circumstances





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that?

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surrounding it which enabled it to be a prolonged strike. It was not run or not continued operations by supervisory personnel; it was a strike for union recognition and in the intial stages it was operated first by supervisory personnel and secondly by adding to them by hiring new people and thirdly by supporting those people with a return of a good portion of their regular staff. But the strike continued with a portion of the staff remaining out with picketing and so forth. And it has some rather difficult things to explain. There were power breaks and so forth, mainly of a cut nature and which were difficult to locate.

THE COMMISSIONER: What was

MR. NOKES: Like wire cutting which was difficult to locate and find and this is covered by the pictures in the newspapers and so forth, that were referred to to get the story. But that was an unusual story, actually.

THE COMMISSIONER: What was the ultimate result?

MR. NOKES: I don't believe they achieved union recognition.

MR. POLLOCK: By union recognition, we are talking about what?





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MR. NOKES: Certification and a bargaining agent.

THE COMMISSIONER: Why would they oppose that?

MR. NOKES: I don't know the answer to that, sir. I suppose they feel it is easier to live without this problem.

THE COMMISSIONER: Are they without it now?

MR. NOKES: I couldn't answer that either, sir.

MR. McBETH: Now, let me say, sir, that most of our utilities are unionized and I would say that most of them are highly regarded unions and they are run by responsible people and we enjoy good public relations with them - good relationships. But as I say, when the strike comes the very purpose of the strike is to hurt the other person no matter which side it is on and it is a war of escalation, once the strike starts.

THE COMMISSIONER: But in this case it is really to coerce the public.

Now you stand there as agents ----

MR. McBETH: I didn't want to use such harsh words, sir.

THE COMMISSIONER: I don't think it is harsh at all. I think it is realistic.

MR. McBETH: It is the public and it is the point I have been trying to make





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when I say it has gone full cycle, that all legislation must certainly be acting for the commonweal and we have recognized at some place in our history that the common rule can best be aided by giving individuals the right to strike.

THE COMMISSIONER: But in relation to wages, do you apply the relation of those wages to wages that are determined by the play of competition in private industry?

MR. McBETH: Yes, we must, of course, because many of our electrical people can go out in private fields and work for Westinghouse, or General Electric or Feranti, or any of them. They can't go out and be linemen in the same sense for any other company, but they can go over to Ontario Hydro and, at the present time, there is a tremendous shortage of linesmen. It may not always be such but really, I think the people on the outside feel today what helps to better their condition more than anything else is competition between the employers themselves. We have a most difficult time getting linemen.

THE COMMISSIONER: But the ordinary conditions of agreement are provided in your arrangement with your men?

MR. McBETH: Yes, we have got the bargaining agreements and I suppose some





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of them are more sophisticated than others, but we all have these collective bargaining agreements. I don't have one with me but I could certainly supply you with a copy of ours in Etobicoke.

THE COMMISSIONER: I suppose they provide a means of protesting against a dismissal?

MR. McBETH: Yes, their agreement procedure is set up first at the senior staff level and then to the various electric hydro commissions and then, failing that, to some sort of arbitration.

MR. POLLOCK: The argument that is made against your position on the question of "no strike", is that you aren't as above reproach as I suppose Calpernia was supposed to be, in areas where the wage level is a question. The argument in its most emotional terms is "If we are an essential industry and we are forbidden to strike, why ought we to subsidize the rest of the community?"

MR. McBETH: I agree and
many utilities would pay as little as they
can but we are not saying that there should
not be a right to this arbitration and we
feel then that the arbitrator, just as police
and fire, we realize that arbitration will
probably work against the employer as far as





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salaries are concerned. In other words, we have the right to strike and let's take something from management too, because if we have the right to not go higher, then we can have a better chance of holding salaries or holding wage levels than if we have to go to arbitration, which generally comes out at a compromise. So both sides lose an arbitration.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, that seems to have been the experience in hospitals.

I think it is the experience in the fire departments. The fire department wages have benefited greatly from the forced arbitration and I don't think the firemen regret forced arbitration too much. In fact, although they may not publicly say so, I think privately they are vey happy with the results of arbitration.

MR. POLLOCK: What are the criteria and what are the basis on which an arbitrator can base a decision as to how much justice there is in a particular trend?

MR. McBETH: I don't know
the answer to that. I would suggest that
he would have to look for the leaders in the
steel industry and the automotive industry
and to what other public employees are getting





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and what the potential is, I think you would have to look into the whole scope of employment throughout the province.

all you can say is that these seem to become acceptable in their differentials.

MR. McBETH: I think so, what you think you can get people to work for you, I think is doubtless, one of the factors but it is not the only factor and I think the public of Ontario want their employees whether provincial or dominion or municipal level, to be paid fairly and to have good working conditions and I think that is really the best protection. They can lobby with the politicians and they do and very effectively, because I, as an elected representative, represent the employee as well and if any of them want to talk to me and tell me how unfairly we are treating them, I know my ear is always open and I think the majority of politicians have their ears open, so that we are a little different animal, as employers than perhaps ordinary management.

Now, sir, I believe I have nothing to add unless any of my colleagues have something to say or if you have further questions.

MR. POLLOCK: On page 9 in your summation that the procedure for ex parte





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injunction available to employer, utility
in case of an illegal strike to retain,
do you lay any emphasis on the ex parte
nature of the injunction or just the question
of the injunction?

MR. McBETH: Yes, I think
the ex parte, in regard to the speed of
the matter that we should be able to act
a little more promptly on an ex parte matter
than perhaps you would be able to act on one
where you have to give the usual motion and
notice for motions.

MR. POLLOCK: Or the usual notice - you can get shorter notice.

MR. McBETH: Well, we are only interested in speed on these things.

Speed is the criteria for us. If the strike is not hurting, then speed is not essential but if the Sick Childrens Hospital across the road suddenly has its power cut off, then speed is terribly essential.

THE COMMISSIONER: I suppose you could take along someone who could give evidence to that just as easily as you could prepare an affidavit.

MR. McBETH: Yes, I would think so.

MR. POLLOCK: And I suppose you could call the other side and notify them that you are going to make this application.





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MR. McBETH: Yes, and I think in the circumstances we are talking about - and in most cases now I am thinking of Toronto, and perhaps not a small case - but there would be good notice through the public press. But, of course, that doesn't apply to many of the smaller communities.

Now there are some people
here from London this morning and they are
the ones who are particularly interested
in this at the present time. I didn't know
they were going to be here and I think they
are here because of their particular
circumstances where strike action has
suddenly become a very momentous concern or concern of the moment - to them and I
don't know whether they wish to speak or
whether you wish to hear them. They were
not scheduled to be here, sir.

MR. POLLOCK: I just have one further question on the general nature of your submission about compulsory arbitration. Are you suggesting that it be placed in the legislation as a definite resort that after so many other steps have taken place, that that is the automatic answer or because the objection that is being raised to that is that if you know a thing is going to be decided by compulsory arbitration, then ----

MR. McBETH: That is where it





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goes anyway.

MR. POLLOCK: That is right.

Or would you be content to say there ought to be provision in the legislation for emergency declaration that this particular dispute has reached the emergency stage or has caused an emergency, that there ought to be compulsory arbitration?

MR. McBETH: I think that would only be our second choice. I think our first choice is to the effect that this be one of the automatic steps if the steps go that far. But, certainly the second position that you have put could have its advantages and that, I think, would be our second suggestion, that it would be only in certain circumstances, once the situation had been declared, of sufficient emergency or sufficient importance, then compulsory arbitration would apply. But our request is in all cases.

MR. POLLOCK: Did the gentlemen from London wish to make any statements?

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, just a moment. What would be the terms of your injunction that you would obtain, Mr. McBeth?

MR. McBETH: I am sorry, sir,

I don't follow the backgound of the question.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, you

were speaking about making immediate application





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to the courts. What would you ask the court to give you?

MR. McBETH: I suppose to have the strike declared as an illegal strike.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, suppose it is a legal strike.

MR. McBETH: Obviously, we wouldn't get our declaration. We are assuming that it is an illegal strike and we want to have those who want to be able to work to get in there.

THE COMMISSIONER: What would you do in the case of a legal strike?

MR. McBETH: Then, this

- when you talk about injunctions, we are looking at a strike as illegal. Now, if

you have legal strikes where injunctions are issued.

it is a legal strike ----

MR. McBETH: I am saying if it is a legal situation, this is what I am suggesting should not be allowed to happen.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, is what your whole argument is/for prohibition by legislation.

MR. McBETH: That is correct,

sir, yes.

Thank you very much, gentlemen.





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we appreciate your attention this morning.

MR. POLLOCK: Thank you. I take it that the London people do not care to make any submissions?

MR. CURTIS: I think we are quite satisfied with the treatment we are getting. I would say that ours in London is a legal strike and everything has been done in the proper manner and I think that the brief has covered everything and I would certainly go along with that.

My name is Elmo Curtis.

MR. POLLOCK: Mr. Curtis, would you tell us, if you arefree to do so, what the outstanding issues are?

MR. CURTIS: Money and some fringe benefits.

MR. POLLOCK: How far apart are you on the money issue? I don't want to do anything in this hearing to prejudice the negotiations, so if there is something that you feel better left unsaid, then all right.

MR. CURTIS: Well, it is all in the press so it is all out and there is nothing to prejudice our position.

MR. FURANNA: We are actually very close insofar as wages are concerned.

The union originally passed a 20 per cent increase. At a union meeting just within the





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last two days they decided to reduce their demands to 15 per cent for one year. The Commission already offered, long before the negotiations even got to arbitration stage, to give 11 3/4 per cent for one year. The Commission had a meeting with the management and with the union last Monday and offered a new arrangement which would give them 11 3/4 for 1967 and an additional 4½ for 1968. They were talking of a one-year contract previously and we have taken the stand that because negotiations have gone on so long, that we want a two year agreement. This is the point that we are at as of now.

The union, last night at a general meeting, took a vote to go out on strike and no date has been set. It so happens that this is a rather, I think, an unusual situation, in that the City of London - that is the Works Department - are also negotiating at this same time. There are two unions in the city, both locals of the same C.U.P.E. union that our people belong to. They have agreed to band together and hold out for an agreement satisfactory to all three parties before any one of them will settle. This has been made public by the union in the press and on TV so that there doesn't seem to be any doubt in our mind that this is the position the union has





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taken and this is where we stand at the moment, sir.

MR. POLLOCK: What is the remuneration or annual remuneration presently and what the additional 11 3/4 or 20 per cent will increase it to?

THE COMMISSIONER: Has this been all made public?

MR. FURANNA: Yes, it has, sir.

The present wage for a lineman - and everything else is relative - is now \$3.11 an hour.

MR. POLLOCK: That is \$3.11 an hour. What does that project out to over a year? That would be \$6,468.80, is that about it?

MR. FURANNA: That would be about it.

MR. POLLOCK: That would be an additional 6 to \$1200 on top of that - or perhaps a little bit better than 6.

mr. Furanna: The new proposed rate for 1967 would be \$3.48 and the rate for 1968 would be \$3.56. Now, before starting negotiations at all, we made a very exhaustive survey of the rates being paid in comparable utilities, that is comparable in size within 100 thousand population above and below London, and in the geographical area between Windsor and Toronto, and we felt that this was the area in which London's economy





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could be compared, and taking these and also including the rates paid in major industries in London and with this guide, we arrived at what we considered to be an equitable wage level. The Commission has taken the attitude that our employees should be entitled to a level of wages that is within the upper quartile of wages in this area that I have described and based on that theory, we have come up with this offer.

Now, this does not mean that we are offering the highest wages in this area. For example, the City of Toronto just settled now for, I believe it was \$3.54. It is six cents difference.

Now, taking the D.B.S. statistics into account and other general surveys on wages that have been made throughout this part of the province, we have felt that this difference between Toronto and London, for example, is in proportion to the economy in the two places, that is the cost of living. The general level of wages in Toronto is higher than that in London and all of these things taken into account, this is the way the Commission has determined its position and, incidentally, I think I should say that this acquisition was given to the union at the very outset and these increases have been for 1967, they were given to the union





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before they even asked for anything, so that I think bargaining in good faith was certainly being demonstrated there.

THE COMMISSIONER: You understand this Commission hasn't anything to do with these matters and we receive this only as a matter of information to see what municipalities have to face from time to time?

MR. FURANNA: Yes, I realize

that, sir.

MR. POLLOCK: Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Once again I would like to thank
the Ontario Municipal Electric Association
for this submission and their time and effort.

MR. McBETH: Thank you, gentlemen, for your attention.

---Luncheon adjournment.





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---On resuming

MR. POLLOCK: This is the Textile Workers Union of America C.L.C.,
A.F.L., C.I.O.

We have Mr. George C. Watson, the Canadian Director and with you, Mr. Watson, are Mr. Victor Skurjat, Mr. John Whitehouse Mr. Charles Bud Clark, Mr. Leo Tessier and Mr. Monty Davidson.

Are you the spokesman, Mr.

Watson?

MR. WATSON: Yes, sir.

that both the Commissioner and I have read the brief with considerable interest and we can proceed on the presentation in any manner that best suits you. If you want to discuss some aspects of it, or deal with the summary form or it, or read it and we can ask some questions later on or during the course of your presentation, whichever suits your preference.

MR. WATSON: Mr. Chairman,

I think we will read most of it. There are
a few items that I don't feel of too much
importance. The first two pages are really
an historical backgound of the union and I

will go on to page 3 and it starts off:

"It seems apparent to us, in the wake of our recent experiences with Tilco





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Plastics Co., in Peterborough, and Spinrite
Yarns and Dyers, in Listowel, that the
court injunction is now being used by hostile
employers as a standard union-busting weapon.

Standard procedure for an anti-union employer seems to follow a pattern. First, proceed through the collective bargaining motions necessary during negotiations for a first agreement. Since Section 12 of the Ontario Labour Relations Act fails to indicate what is meant by bargaining "in good faith", it will be next to impossible to show that the company is not bargaining in good faith. Second, to ensure that an agreement is not consummated, introduce a collective bargaining item that will be completely unpalatable to the union - in the case of Spinrite Yarns it was a \$50,000 "Performance Bond". Third, during the first days of the inevitable strike secure an ex parte or interim injunction that either prohibits or effectively limits pickets for a few critical days. Finally, actively recruit a new work force and establish them in the struck mill while the union's picket line is banned or reduced to a forlorn band of two or three pickets.

The key to success in this blue-print for destroying a certified bargaining agent, and replacement of a





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unionized work-force, lies in the nature of
the industrial operation and the work-force.

A sizeable portion of the textile, plastic
and allied product industries, can maintain
operations with a relatively unskilled
replacement work-force, providing key skilled
jobs are filled by supervisors or others.

As a consequence workers within these industries
are particularly vulnerable to the consequences
of a court injunction banning or restricting
picketing.

Consequently, while we readily concur with the Ontario Federation of Labour that "The process of collective bargaining is seriously under-mined, and the employer is less likely to bargain in good faith if he knows that when a strike is called he can easily get an injunction against picketing and thereby weaken or break the strike", we would express the difficulties we face with the growing use of injunctions in much more emphatic terms.

Under circumstances prevailing in the industrial sector with which we are concerned, not the least of which is the ease with which the work force can be replaced in some vulnerable segments, the use of an injunction to ban or restrict picketing is tantamount to denying employees in these industries the rights and benefits





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of collective bargaining.

The effect of such an injunction is not only to break the employees legal strike, often by affording the employer the opportunity to totally replace his unionized work-force, but in effect, to deprive the striking employee of his job.

Invariably, the effect of court injunctions during industrial disputes is such as to weight the balance of power heavily in favour of the employer. Often to the extent of completely destroying the basis, or opportunity, for collective bargaining.

The point was recognized in the editorial columns of the Peterborough Examiner.

"...there are some instances where the sheer size of the striking work force and the complexity of the industry in which they are involved create a situation in which both sides to the dispute are fairly evenly matched. There are other situations such as the Tilco case where the use of the ex parte injunction and the injunction proved to be powerful weapons in breaking the strike".

In our view the Tilco affair provided a classic illustration of the way an employer can utilize the court injunction to smash a strike, destroy a legally certified hargaining agent, and frustrate the





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efforts of his employees to establish a collective bargaining relationship. It also furnishes us with a clear picture of the ineffectiveness of the Labour Relations Act in protecting the collective bargaining and job rights of vulnerable employees when confronted by a hostile employer. Because the Tilco situation is so closely related to the terms of reference of this enquiry, we feel it may be of assistance to your Commission if we record salient factors and events as they relate to collective bargaining in that situation.

Plastics Ltd., called upon us to organize them during June, 1965, we recognized the task of negotiating an agreement with this particular employer would not be easy. Over the years the employees had made various attempts to establish a collective bargaining relationship without success. Several years previously the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (Independent) had established bargaining rights; had "failed ... to obtain a contract at the plant", and had subsequently been decertified.

However, for the employees, most of whom were girls, many in the 16 to 20 year age group, working conditions and wage rates were sub-standard. The starting rate at the





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plant was the statutory minimum of \$1.00 an hour rising eventually to \$1.12 and \$1.17 "depending on the category of the employee".

Under these circumstances it was felt a campaign had to be initiated and three or four weeks later, on July 22nd, 1965, the Textile Workers of America was certified as bargaining agent by the Ontario Labour Relations Board.

For the next five months

collective bargaining was an exercise in

futility. The situation was not improved

by the dismissal of union members during

this period, acts that necessitated the

filing of charges against the company under

provisions of the Ontario Labour Relations Act.

The situation was reflected in the comments of John McPhee, columnist for the Peterborough Examiner:

"The Textile Workers Union
of America and Tilco Plastics Ltd.,
will meet again in an effort
to reach a first agreement,
without the aid of a conciliation
officer. This is another
union drive that has run into
management opposition following
certification. I understand
the union has filed at least
one unfair labour practice charge,





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but is willing to settle out of court for the sake of future labour-management relations.

Most of the employees are women."

At one point in the negotiations it was the understanding of union negotiations that terms of an agreement had been reached.

Terms of settlement were taken back to the union membership, acted upon and ratified.

When co-owner Harold Pammett was subsequently advised of the ratification he denied that agreement had been reached on a \$25 payment in lieu of retroactivity. He subsequently offered \$15, then withdrew even that sum.

This event was characteristic of management's attitude and activity during these prolonged negotiations and we became convinced that management had no intention

of permitting a union to be established in the plant. It would seem that the futility of the situation was apparent to the department of labour conciliation officer by November 26, 1965, for on that day he recommended that no conciliation board be established. This recommendation was adhered to by the Minister of Labour and on December 14, 1965, the employees started a legal strike.

An active strike-breaking campaign was initiated immediately by the





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new work-force. To quote the December 14, 1965
issue of the Peterborough Examiner: "Mr.

Pammett said he expects to hire more women
workers Wednesday. He said "things are going
very well considering this is the first day of the
strike. We are telephoning people whose
applications we have on file and telling them
we are on strike, and asking if they want a
job".

The second phase came on the third day of the strike. On December 17 managements' application for an injunction was granted. The union wasn't asked to appear by the judge who granted the court order. Without giving the union the right to state its case, the judge enjoined all picketing for a critical temporary period of a few days. So now the employees picket-line was wiped out by a court order, and under the umbrella of this injunction management brought its new employees into the plant.

A few days later, on December

20, under threat of losing any right to picket

the plant whatsoever, we were forced to agree to

a permanent injunction restricting picketing

to four persons per gate, a total of 12.

The dilemma with which a union is confronted under these circumstances is described and explained in the recent Ontario





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Federation of Labour submission to the Government of Ontario:

"Too often the courts and judges have been used by employers. under pretence of protection against 'intended' violence. to issue ex parte injunctions automatically at a critical moment of a strike. The damage has been done by the time the hearing takes place. If it comes to a hearing, the representative of the workers is forced to agree to a limited picket rather than wait through the lengthy procedure that would ensue if he were to oppose the injunction in the courts. In such a case, the original interim injunction would be extended to the time of disposition of the case. He loses both ways."

We should place on record the fact that the Textile Workers Union of America immediately complied with the terms of the prohibitive ex parte injunction, and after the second restrictive injunction was issued

its terms were fully complied with.

At no time after that were there more than

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twelve striking employees (four per gate) picketing at any given time.

From the moment the injunction was granted, first prohibiting, then severely restricting, picketing, the balance of power swung decisively to management in the Tilco situation. Indeed there is a great deal of evidence that management recognized this fact.

In this regard much of the evidence we placed before the Ontario Labour Relations Board during the hearings of June 9, and August 22, 1966 re our application for leave to prosecute the company for failing to bargain in good faith, may be of assistance to your Commission. In our opinion it has an important bearing not only upon the use of injunctions in industrial disputes, but also on the deficiencies of Section 12 of the Ontario Labour Relations Act with respect to determination of what constitutes failure to bargain in good faith.

Our representations before
the Labour Board on these occasions were also
widely reported in the daily press. In
particular we refer your Commission to the
June 9, 1966 issues of The Toronto Star and
The Telegram, and the June 10, 1966, issue
of the Globe and Mail.

Typical is the story appearing





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in the Globe and Mail of that date head-lined,
"Tilco owner cited court backing, labour
official says - Boasted of breaking union,
hearing told".

The salient quotes from that

item may be of interest to your Commission:

"The Ontario Labour Relations

Board was told yesterday

that one of the owners of

Tilco Plastics Ltd. of

Peterborough had boasted

that a court injunction limiting

picketing would permit him

to ride through a strike and

bring about the decertification

of the union.

The statement was made by

Victor Skurjat, manager of the

Greater Toronto Textile Joint

Board, testifying on an

application by the union for

permission to prosecute the

company for failing to bargain
in good faith.

Mr. Skurjat quoted Harold

Pammett, who had dealt with the union before the strike, as telling a group of officers last January: 'Now that I have the court behind me, I





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can ride this through!.

Mr. Skurjat said that Mr.

Pammett walked into strike
headquarters across the
street from the plant and
told the union men they had
placed themselves in a
position where no settlement

could take place. Mr.

Skurjat said Mr. Pammett told the union there were some individuals he would never take back.

Although he attempted to persuade Mr. Pammett to negotiate Mr. Skurjat said, 'Mr. Pammett said he was not interested'.

He said that if it was not for the injunctions we would have flattened him, as he put it, in two weeks, but because of the court order, he was going to consolidate and wait until the end of July and have us decertified."

negotiations in the weeks that followed the implementation of strike action, and the company's blunt rejection of numerous mediation attempts from all kinds of interested community groups and authorities, leads us to the





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conclusion that a mechanism ought to be
established in the Labour Act to provide a
confrontation around the bargaining table
by the disputing parties, if either one,
signifies a desire for such a meeting. Such
post-strike, or lock-out meetings, convened by
a conciliztion officer, would at least
circumvent the kind of unilateral decision,
made by Tilco, that effectively blocked all
efforts to bring the parties together.
Obviously we are not suggesting this as a
panacea, but rather as the initial, and very
necessary step in the process of establishing
the setting for a dialogue.

Early community efforts at mediation in the Tilco situation, and the contrasting attitude of the parties toward such mediation efforts, are chronicled in the newspapers of that period. "

newspaper items, but it is indicated in the presence of the Peterborough Labour Council, a ministerial group, Keith Brown, M.M.P., the Deputy Minister of Labour and the Chief Conciliation Officer, all made definite and repeated attempts to get the company to the bargaining table and all of these failed.

I will go on to page 11, and
I would like to read an editorial comment
from the Peterborough Examiner concerning these





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of Tilco officials to enter into further discussions with the Textile Workers Union of America, representing striking employees at the plant, the question arises as to what must be the next step. Peterborough M.P.P. Keith Brown who was present at the meeting between company officials and Department of Labour representatives, suggests that all legal steps in the bargaining process have been exhausted. In effect the company is able to decline to bargain with an employees organization which has been sanctioned by lau. ' ... if as Mr. Brown suggests, there is in fact no further recourse in law, then the law is surely lacking, for it has created a ludicrous situation. That is, that in order to give effect to the laws regarding strike action and collective bargaining, unionists must





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go outside the law'."

Now, I would like to read the issue of Mr. Rowntree on February the 24th, in the Ontario Legislature Minister of Labour, Leslie Rowntree conceded under questioning that:

"Management of the plastics
firm had turned down his
request to meet with the union."
and when asked by a member of the legislature
whether he did not feel this was a refusal
by management to bargain in good faith, the
labour Minister replied, "Well, to be quite
frank, it certainly has all the appearances
of it".

Against this background your Commission will readily understand why we initiated action before the Ontario Labour Relations Board with a view to obtaining consent from the board to prosecute the management of Tilco Plastics Ltd., for failure to bargain in good faith under the terms of the Act.

Incredibility and a deep sense of injustice were our reactions to the findings of the Ontario Labour Relations Board, when, after months of delay, in a majority report, our request for permission to initiate prosecution proceedings was refused.

On the one hand we were confronted





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by a company that was resisting the union with all the weapons available to it; by a management that had twice been found guilty of picket-line offences against union members, and had been bound over by the courts to keep the peace; that had made inflammatory public utterances of refusal to sign a contract with the union, and under these circumstances the Labour Relations Board had refused us leave to prosecute. On the other hand, during the same industrial dispute, twenty-five trade unionists who participated in a peaceful march to protest the use of injunctions in industrial disputes were thrown in jail, having been found in contempt of court. As the Ontario Federation of Labour puts it; 'It is most difficult in such circumstances to convince the ordinary worker in the plant that the law treats both parties equally".

This brings our case study of the Tilco Plastics dispute up to the Feb 23-24 demonstrations organized by the Peterborough Labour Council to protest the use of injunctions in industrial disputes. It is now a matter of record that the 26 demonstrators charged were classed as pickets by Mr. Justice Gale, found in contempt, and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from fifteen days to two months.

Labour's reaction to the

conviction and the harshness of the sentences





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is also a matter of record. It is to be found in the pages of the two-volume Report of a Study on the Labour Injunction, edited by A.W.R. Carrothers, and prepared as an aid to your enquiry. Accordingly, to avoid repetition, we shall confine our comments on the Feb 23-24 demonstration, and its aftermath, to a few specific points.

Because of the tendency of various editorial writers to embellish strike reports with such terms as "violence, anarchy, chaos" and the like, it seems important to firmly establish the fact that all the evidence concerning the Feb 23-24 demonstrations in Peterborough points to the fact that the marchers were orderly and peaceful.

In this regard we refer your Commission to the report appearing in the Peterborough Examiner on Feb 23, 1966 the first day of the demonstration which says in part:

Peterborough city police said

17 police officers were on

duty near the plant at one point

but there had been no incidents

and the number was reduced by about

half. He said demonstrators,

walking two abreast and carrying





placards were 'very orderly'

and he didn't anticipate any

problems."

This was confirmed by Attorney General Arthur Wishart, who, in a statement to the legislature on February 24, 1966, said:

"There has been no violence in the assembly at Peterborough, I have been in constant touch with the Crown Attorney, the Sheriff and the Chief of Police at Peterborough, through the officials of my department, and I have the assurance of all these responsible persons that the picketing and actions have been orderly."

We would draw your attention to the Attorney General's concluding remarks at that time:

"There is no law preventing
a lawful assembly, and it
would be a shocking commentary
on our community if we ever
contemplated that such
assemblies should be restricted."
We draw your Commission's

attention to the pertinent observations of James Renwick MPP (Riverdale) on the matter





of injunctions in labour disputes, and his particular references to the legal aspects of the Tilco demonstrations, that appear in a budget speech given in the House on Monday, July 4, 1966.

Finally it is enlightening to examine the reaction of the community of Peterborough, to the extent that it is reflected in the editorial columns of the Peterborough Examiner,

- (a) immediately after Chief Justice G.A.

 Gale had found the 26 guilty of
 contempt and (b) following the
 upholding of the conviction by the
 Ontario Court of Appeal.
- (a) Peterborough Examiner, June 9, 1966

"In the case of labour injunctions, it is apparently the view of organized labour that Ontario and other provincial governments had been so steadfast in their refusal to listen to labour's objections to injunctions law over a period of years that other more dramatic approaches had to be tried. This view is by no means unwarranted. The Government of Ontario has shown little or no inclination to





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consider labour's criticisms

of injunctions law even after

it became clear at Oshawa that

civil disobedience was being

employed and even when the

Opposition and the Ontario

Bar Association were calling

for a review of the law.

Moreover, the law itself has been applied in an irresponsible fashion since charges were not laid in the even more flagrant Oshawa case but were laid in Peterborough. If the Ontario government had shown some willingness to listen to labour's complaints, and to review the law, before or after the Oshawa incident, the Tilco demonstrations might never have happened. Therefore the Ontario government must bear a share of the responsibility for the disregard for the law which Chief Justice Gale so deplores." This editorial makes reference

to labour's continued complaints against the use of injunctions in industrial disputes.





The Ontario Federation of Labour catalogued its official representations on the matter in its 1966 submission to the Government of Ontario, which has been made available to your Commission.

We quote:

"Since 1957 the Federation has protested in briefs to this government and its agencies against the use of injunctions in labour disputes on ten separate occasions (appendix "A"). This does not include the many times individual unions have raised this question in their submissions to the government and its various bodies".

(b) Peterborough Examiner, October 26, 1966

"No one, who has thought deeply about it, could properly support a legal process which, because part of it is inadequate and faulty, turns dissenters into criminals over night. But astonishingly enough, this is the attitude taken by the courts and by a large number of lawyers and legislators, including the Attorney-General of Ontario."

It cannot be anything else but clear that the Ontario Labour legislation under which certification and collective bargaining

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is supposedly arranged has grave weaknesses. The Ontario Government grants as much, since it has appointed Mr. Justice Rand to enquire into injunctions as used in labour disputes. And since these judgements arise mainly out of strikes, the connection should be plain.

It must be said, too, that the Labour leaders who demonstrated at Tilco Plastics had every expectation of being brought before the courts and were willing to risk this prospect as a means of drawing attention to a wide spread grievance. But it is equally clear that in Oshawa, previously, a more flagrant violation of an injunction was ignored by the Attorney-General and by law enforcers. Altogether, a relatively minor strike, and a trivial bargaining matter has thus been turned into a "cause celebre" for organized labour. And this has been accomplished by some insupportable attitudes which still prevent workers from organizing themselves into an effective bargaining unit.

But at what a cost to society, to labour, to the courts, and to the taxpayer?

Though judges may cling to their assertions that they are dealing, and can only deal with the law, in this case the judiciary had legislated against public dissent by turning it into criminal behaviour and has done it badly into the bargain.





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We have spent a considerable time in reviewing the background to the Tilco Plastics dispute, particularly with respect to collective bargaining aspects, and in drawing together newspaper reports and editorial comments pertinent to this dispute, because we felt that it was in this area that we could maximize our contribution to the objectives of the enquiry you have been commissioned to undertake.

We fully recognize that the case against the use of injunctions in labour disputes has been made by many reputable authorities over the years. We further recognize that at this stage in your enquiry other submissions will have directed the attention of your Commission to the pertinent source material, and in developing their case, will have made broad-ranging references to it.

In stating our general views
therefore, particularly where they are substantiated
by reference to authoritative sources, a certain
amount of repetition is probably unavoidable.
In an endeavour to ensure that such duplication
of effort is not excessive, we shall restrict
ourselves to a few salient points in the
injunction dialogue.

(1) Experience has shown us that when an employer makes application for an injunction his basic purpose is to use it as





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a strike-breaking weapon. Invariably the newly organized, low wage and relatively small establishment will rush for an injunction during the first days of a strike. The first few days of any labour dispute are usually critical. If an employer obtains an injunction prohibiting or restricting picketing during this period, he has got what he wants.

Usually he need go no further. In this case of an ex parte or interim injunction he has broken the union usually without a hearing and without having to prove any kind of case.

In a recent occasional paper submitted to a national conference on labour legislation held under the auspices of the Canadian Labour Congress, John Osler, Q.C. describes the effect of a restrictive injunction on striking workers.

"A strike which commenced with the enthusiastic support of the great majority of the employees as witnessed by their readiness to participate in a picket line, may be transformed in a matter of hours into a proceeding of which the only evidence is a forlorn band of two or three pickets, at one or two entrances, carrying banners bravely proclaiming that





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they are on strike for their rights --- All too frequently the employees whose activities on the picket line are prohibited are bewildered and badly demoralized. They are not aware of having done anything seriously wrong, they are very much aware of the need for improvement in their working conditions and suddenly the power and majesty of the state is enlisted to prohibit them from demonstrating and requesting support for their cause. Surely, admitting the right to strike, workers should be able to demonstrate their own convictions in the rightness of their cause and to enlist the support of others without being hampered in their efforts to do so and made to look and feel like criminals."

(2) The legitimate and useful purpose of an injunction, particularly where real property is threatened by action that cannot be reversed, is the preservation of existing conditions until the final determination





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of rights. It is precisely because the injunction fails to do this in a strike situation, that it is a totally unsuitable legal instrument.

Rather than preserving the status quo, by prohibiting or restricting the picket-line the injunction throws the balance of power to the side of management. The removal of the picket-line provides the anti-union employer with the conditions necessary for a successful campaign to persuade workers to return, or to enlist and ferry new employees into the strike-bound plant.

Support for this 'iew was given by U.S. Supreme Court Justice F. Frank-furter:

"The situation does not remain in equilibrium awaiting judgement upon full knowledge.

The suspension of activities affects only the strikers; the employer resumes his efforts to defeat the strike, and resumes them free from the interferences. Moreover, the suspension of strike activities, even temporarily, may defeat the strike for practical purposes and fore doom its resumption, even if the injunction is later lifted."





argument in the case for changing the law with respect to the use of court injunctions in industrial disputes. By prohibiting or limiting pickets, they tend to place the state on the side of the employer and upset the balance of power, not only after a strike takes place but in the breakdown of collective bargaining which led to the strike.

(3) The argument that the courts never grant injunctions against picketing unless there is real or threatened damage to property, injury to person or a breach of the peace is no answer to the above assertion. If these things occur, then the law and the police are at hand just as in any other situation.

Indeed nothing occurred during those first days of the strike at Tilco

Plastics, that would warrant the granting of an ex parte injunction, the ultimate effect of which, by prohibiting picketing, was to break the strike and destroy the union.

Nothing occurred in the strike at this small establishment, involving some fifty girls and a boy or two, that the police of Peterborough and the laws of the land couldn't handle.

Regrettably there were incidents on the picket line and very properly they were





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dealt with by the local magistrates. For example, on January 27, 1966, Harold Pammett, co-owner of Tilco Plastics Ltd., appeared in Magisteates Court where he was bound over to keep the peace on his own recognizance for one year under threat of forfeiting a \$1,000 bond. The plant co-owner and manager was charged with causing a union representative to fear he would suffer personal injury. Early in March another Tilco co-owner, Donald Tipp, appeared in court and was fined \$10 and costs for assaulting one of the strikers on the picket-line.

Indeed the widespread judicial practice of granting injunctions in labour disputes to deal with these kinds of incidents, is a gross distortion of the original purpose of injunctions, which, as outlined above, was to protect real property from damage pending a trial on the matter at issue.

In this respect it is significant that the Report of a Study on the Labour Injunction in Ontario, commissioned by the Ontario

Department of Labour, reveals (a) that a relatively small proportion of injunction disputes in strike situations even come to trial (b) that the great majority of injunctions are granted "ex parte" on affidavit evidence without the union being present, and from this, by inference, we can





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assume they were sought, obtained and used to serve a purpose other than the legal purpose intended.

We submit that this purpose is not to protect property but to diminish the effectiveness of picketing and effect the outcome of the strike - in short, to do the very opposite of what injunctions are supposed to do and change the status quo by favouring one side in the dispute.

attention of your Commission that in the course of the study of injunctions referred to above, two of the legal experts consulted by the Ontario department of labour have recommended abolition or limited use of injunctions in labour disputes.

We refer, of course, to the conclusion of K.W. Wedderburn, professor of law at the London School of Economics, that he would prefer to see injunctions in labour disputes abolished (vol 2.p.672).

At the same time Benjamin Aaron, professor of law and director of the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California, feels that Canada might avoid the violent reaction to the abuse of labour injunctions which the United States experienced prior to the enactment of the 1932 Norris-La Guardia Act, by initiating policies providing





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for limited use of injunctions.

A.W.R. Carrothers, editor and director of the above study, provides a summary of the case against the injunction in his book "The Labour Injunction in British Columbia", CCH, 1956, written when he was at the University of British Columbia. For obvious reasons we need not dwell on the 10-point case he makes against injunctions.

Equally obvious is the fact that your Commission is well acquainted with the criticism of the use of injunctions in labour disputes, expressed by Professor Bora Laskin (now Mr. Justice Laskin of the Ontario Court of Appeal) in the Canadian Bar Review in 1937. Nevertheless, the case he made 30 years ago is still valid, and well summarizes the issue.

"1. They are granted upon affidavit evidence; there is no examination and cross-examination of witnesses or the careful sifting of facts, but the judge, sitting without a jury, is asked to choose between conflicting documentary statements in which both sides strain the truth, to say the least.

2. They are prepared by the complainant's counsel and





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and accepted by the Court with very little ceremony.

- 3. They prejudige the issues involved in a dispute by acting as strike-breakers.
- 4. They are couched in broad language and in such far-reaching terms that they implant a fear in men more potent than does the criminal law.
- 5. They endow the owner of a business or of property with a militant power, little short of sovereignty.
- 6. They place the judiciary, as far as the labourer is concerned, in the ranks of the employers.
- 7. They arouse a resentment and antagonism that often leads to active violence where there was none before.
- 8. They circumscribe union activity far beyond the needs of the particular case.
- 9. They generally issue
 ex parte and quite perfunctorily,
 on a false analogy, to cases
 involving real property in
 which, on occasion, prompt





action may well be necessary."

This then concludes the presentation of our views concerning the growing use of injunctions in labour disputes. We believe the practice is bad because it creates injustice and inequality within the collective bargaining context under consideration.

Many employers, at best, give only gruding recognition to the principles of union representation and collective bargaining outlined in the Labour Act. Other employers would still deny even these fundamental rights. In the injunction they have discovered a useful ally.

Accordingly we submit that:

- (1) The use of injunctions whether they be ex parte, interim or permanent, in industrial disputes, be abolished by law.
- (2) Section 12 of the Ontario

 Labour Relations Act be strengthened by a

 clear definition of "bargaining in good faith"

 and that adequate penalties be provided in

 the event of a breach of this Section.
- (3) The Labour Act be amended to ensure that every worker who has gone on strike in a manner sanctioned by the Act, have his job protected until the conclusion of the strike.
- (4) The use of strike-breakers during a legal strike be forbidden by law."





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All of which is respectfully submitted.

MR. POLLOCK: Thank you very much, Mr. Watson.

Perhaps we can start from the end and the beginning at the same time because the first question I have is in relation to bargaining in good faith and you refer to it in your submission.

It is a very perplexing problem that is being raised now and probably existed for a long time, as to what bargaining in good faith means. How would you define "bargaining in good faith" and how can you determine whether somebody is bargaining in good faith by relating it to some type of standard?

MR. WATSON: Under the present law it is pretty hard to define. We feel that the legislation should be changed so that it isn't so hard to define. There have been cases before the courts and some of them have been thrown out and some of them have had some recognition by the courts that there were companies bargaining in bad faith or weren't bargaining in good faith. We feel quite humbly that this is a question that has to be changed by the Labour Relations Act so that it is not as difficult to determine bargaining in bad faith. We feel quite





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definitely that there is considerable that
takes place and not necessarily restricted
to companies. I would suggest that some
unions possibly do this for whatever reasons
they would employ. But what we are concerned
with is the fact that many companies do
and whoever does it should have some regulations
that would prohibit that and bring them to
task for not bargaining in good faith.

MR. POLLOCK: The problem,

of course in this whole area is the tactical
approach taken by both sides. You say it
has been held that the company offer is

\$9 to the union and says to take it or leave
it - that is not bargaining in good faith.

But if he meets with them one week and says
"I will give you \$2 and next week I will
give you 2 more until you get up to \$9",
that is bargaining in good faith.

Now, unless you can open up people's minds you can't really tell what they are doing. That is the difficulty.

MR. WATSON: It is very difficult and I think some of the flagrant cases, they are not so hard to detect and there have been a number of them. For instance, I was a little concerned with this latest strike we have at the Spinrite Yarns and I went to talk or assist Mr. Skurjat in the negotiations. They had





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continued their bargaining and I will just give you an example of where this is bad faith.

We haven't choices, but I am just giving you an example.

The company and the union had bargained and they had pretty well cleaned up all the language clauses in the contract and, in fact Mr. Skurjat, as I told him, had gone further along the lines of bending to try and get a settlement than I would have done under the circumstances. I went into this situation and I felt we were headed into trouble and it subsequently proved that we were right. In the 11th hour, just a meeting before I arrived at the scene the company threw in a proposal for \$50 thousand performance bond. This is a major proposal by either party and it would just be like after having settled maybe the union security by saying "We will accept a voluntary check-off" and then come in and throw in that we had to make sure that everybody who was hired at that time, had to sign up at the union office before they were even considered by the company. It was literally a bombshell in the eleventh hour. Now I don't consider that as bargaining in good faith because there had been no indication over months and months and months of bargaining -I would say about five months - no indication that the company was even thinking about this.





THE COMMISSIONER: Is such a bond ever given in these cases?

MR. WATSON: No. Normally it has been opposed by companies and some companies haven't pushed it and so they have got a settlement. Other companies pushed it and have no settlement or the strike took place with varying degrees of success.

MR. POLLOCK: That is an old-fashioned tactic and I haven't heard of the performance bond for many years.

MR. WATSON: In the disastrous strike at Kaufmans in Kitchener, this was one of the tactics he employed and I am not saying he used that in the eleventh hour. In this case it was brought up in the eleventh hour.

THE COMMISSIONER: Who makes the bond?

MR. WATSON: The union has to put up a bond of \$50 thousand which they would have to forfeit.

THE COMMISSIONER: But does it purport to be a bond signed by the union and the union men?

MR. WATSON: We would have to raise the money through a bond or ----

THE COMMISSIONER:

You go to

a surety company and they arrange it.

MR. WATSON: It could be but I don't know of any surety companies that we





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asked about this. There were no surety companies that were issuing any bonds. Their mechanism didn't seem to worry them. It was just the fact that they knew that this would be unacceptable to the union.

Now, for instance, Mr. Commissioner, it is a rather ludicrous situation. They hadn't offered any union security and even if they had, we could be charged with violation of the contract. The contract could be violated by a non-union employee and if it was violated, then our bond was sacrificed because there had been a stoppage of some sort in that plant.

THE COMMISSIONER: What I have in mind is that a union is not a corporate body and either you would have to bond all the employees or perhaps those who sign it.

MR. WATSON: Yes, it is a rather difficult thing, I would think, to get into effect and properly into operation. I don't think they were concerned with that aspect of it.

MR. POLLOCK: Well supposing the same trustees who want property and the union could enter into the bond and arrange it on the same basis.

MR. SKURJAT: Yes. The whole strike at Spinrite was involved and that was the whole issue that kicked off the strike.





MR. POLLOCK: They must have felt fairly strongly about it to let it go to strike - that is the company.

MR. WATSON: I don't know if the company felt so strongly about a bond.

I think, in our opinion, there was strength in their convictions that they didn't want any collective bargaining agency in their plant.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: I think the point we make in our brief, Mr. Pollock, is the kind of item that is thrown in, not really as a meaningful item but simply to bolster their original anti-union attitude of the employer - in other words, a gimmick is thrown in to ensure that they will not enter into a bargaining relationship.

MR. POLLOCK: They start to get afraid that you are going to accept what their terms are.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: Yes.

MR. SKURJAT: Mr. Commissioner,

I might say that we endeavoured to have the

company explain what it would mean or how it

would apply and the company failed. They

said that is all we want. We want a performance

bond and that's it. They couldn't explain

and they couldn't give us any examples of its

application or where it applied. They said

they heard it applies and somebody had it and





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they couldn't give us any, it was just a completely ridiculous situation and yet it was at a time when we believed that the agreement and the negotiations were finalized. Also, I have to remind you that the company applied for an injunction and the injunction was granted in this situation as well.

MR. WATSON: I not only
went into this situation to get first-hand
information, but on the day of the strike I
decided that I would find out first-hand what
took place on the first day of the strike.

I went into Listowell on Monday morning,
November 21st, and I was on the picket line
about 5:30 in the morning. This company, I
am sure, had this strike planned when they
brought in this performance bond suggestion
and they also had planned to have an injunction
and when we say that the standard procedure
takes place, or a certain pattern develops,
the same thing happened in Listowel.

the employers were there with their lawyers inside the gates snapping pictures of people on the picket line with their tape recorders and their flash cameras and there were, for instance, at around 6:00 o'clock we had probably 200 or 250 pickets. They were just standing around, they were just milling around the plant and the other gates of the





employees.

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plant were closed so the employees were milling around and no one had come to work. They had expected that there would be some scabs who would try to go through the picket line but they were taking pictures of the crowd milling around and I am sure that these pictures would have been used if no further evidence had been brought out, as an indication of how could pickets ever get through a crowd like this that is massed in front of a gate. But that plant didnt even open.

THE COMMISSIONER: Not pickets.

MR. POLLOCK: But how could

MR. WATSON: Scabs, I am sorry,
I didn't give you the right term. So they
were taking these pictures repeatedly. Now
these pictures they kept on taking right up
until 7:00 o'clock and then the employees
started to come in and there were a number
of employees. Three scabs got through the
picket line and the foremen were approached
and they were talked to and we suggested to
them that they do nothing other than supervisory
duties and they agreed. They went through
the picket line with a bit of good-natured
joking and so forth and some of them had their
hands on the hood of a car but it was just
good-natured stuff and there was a picture taken





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and I am sure that was probably used as evidence of violence. But it was all in joking and all in fun, the same as you'd maybe do the same thing yourself in the good spirit of the day on the first day of the strike. So that two of the strikers or the scabs went throught and they were driven through by their father and this guy bruted his way through the picket line without stopping and he had one of the pickets spilled over on his hood and it was a good thing he was spilled on the hood because if he hadn't been on the hood he would have been under the wheels and there would have been serious injury.

THE COMMISSIONER: Why would he be up there? What was he doing?

MR. WATSON: He was walking up and down in front of the gate and this guy didn't stop to be interrogated, he didn't stop at all, he ----

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, really, nobody had any right to stop him.

MR. WATSON: We do consider
we have the right to stop them, Mr. Commissioner,
with great respect. We have to acquaint the
people that there is a stike on.

THE COMMISSIONER: But they don't have to listen to you. Why do they have to stop?





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MR. WATSON: Well, the ordinary common restrictions of the highway.

This is a highway.

THE COMMISSIONER: I am talking about the rights of an individual.

MR. WATSON: All right then, if you were walking on that street at the time and someone knocked you down, you would charge him under the Traffic Act.

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

MR. WATSON: And this person didn't stop to wait until the way was clear. Everybody can enter that plant.

THE COMMISSIONER: But he knew that this man was not going to get out of the way.

MR. WATSON: Well, the guy was walking and, with great respect, this is one of the fundamentals and one of the very minimum things that we insist on, that we have the right to at least talk to people and acquaint them. This was the first day of the strike, mind you.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I think that is where you get into trouble, because you haven't any business to try and force a person to listen to you.

MR. WATSON: Well, we think

we do.

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but that doesn't make it proper.

MR. WATSON: Well, maybe it

isn't proper.

THE COMMISSIONER: Now, don't

misunderstand me.

MR. WATSON: Well, I do misunderstand you, sir, I do think that we have the right.

a moment. This meeting is going to be conducted properly and I just want to get the ideas clear. If you think you have the right to stop people against their will, then I think you are wrong.

MR. WATSON: Well, I think that we have the right to ensure the people are stopped, to talk to them and try to persuade them from going into that stikebound plant.

THE COMMISSIONER: All right, that is your view.

MR. WATSON: I am just setting it out as my view and I think that is the very minimum that we should have.

THE COMMISSIONER: I can understand your view that that is the very minimum that you ought to have and it may be that you should, but I am just speaking about the justification for it in law.

MR. WATSON: Let me assure you





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of another thing, Mr. Commissioner. There were police on that picket line that day who would guard against any incidents taking place. I went over to the Chief and informed him that this driver had rammed his way through that picket line and there could have been an injury. The guy was shaken up and scraped a bit but he could have been under the wheels and this guy didn't even slow down, and at least if there are a number of people there in ordinary driving habits people are supposed to avoid an accident and he didn't. He deliberately barged into that picket line and this fellow was spreadeagled over the top of his hood, feet first going into that driveway. I am surprised the company didn't charge him with violation or trespassing or something of that sort, but I am being facetious now.

MR. POLLOCK: I suppose you could charge the fellow with being a scab too, because he went into the plant.

MR. WATSON: No, he didn't go in, he was just driving his daughter.

MR. POLLOCK: I mean the fellow sitting on the hood of the car.

MR. WATSON: Well, we were sympathetic to his position.

Now getting back to this situation again, I went over and informed the Chief of

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Police and - by the way, there was another

20 Provincial Policemen standing ready to

be called in if the local police wanted them

but they were not called in, except that

night when these two girls were being

escorted out of the plant, they had 20

Provincial Police down there and when we

only had four or five pickets on the line
that was at 9:30 that night - and this

is how grave and how much the people were

inflamed at the attitude of that person

who was barging through. Now this is the

thing that causes violence on a picket line,

not actions of employees.

Now there is a bit, on the side of the union, I suppose there is a bit of jostling and so forth, that took place on that first day of the strike, their spirits were high. And I suppose if the police wanted to, they could have laid charges; but none were laid. And the point I am getting at is not what I have said up to this time, but the point I am getting at is that they said 'We have taken note of all these things and we will let you know in good time". The company had already applied for the injunction. They didn't try to take anyone through the picket line for the next two days and the injunction was granted Wednesday night.





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THE COMMISSIONER: Didn't they

go through with automobiles?

MR. WATSON: No one went through at all, just the foremen. They didn't try to operate that plant at all for the next two days. They were sitting back waiting and relying on an injunction to be granted. And this is the pattern that is developing. The policemen weren't concerned about trying to enforce the law and let that plant run. If that plant should have been running in those days, then they should have operated that plant and the employees should have gone in and if there was any action on our part in violation of the law, then our people should have been charged, the same as that person should have been charged when he barged through, in my opinion. But nothing took place, they just let things drift until Thursday.

MR. POLLOCK: Who is "they"?

MR. WATSON: The company. am sure it must have been the company. They didn't ask the employees to come in. They told them to stay home. Now the police were there and our pickets were there but no employees tried to go through the picket line. On Wednesday night we were informed that it was cut down to two and the plant and employees of close to 300 people, they limited them to





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two pickets.

Now the company, in addition to that, kept claiming that there shouldn't be any pickets. Based on what had taken place up to that time on one day of a strike and they were the ones that were on the offensive. They were trying to get a court hearing, a further court hearing so that the interim order that was granted limiting the two, that they could eliminate picketing altogether. We had our strike headquarters in the form of a trailer on the other side of the road to the plant and the only thing that the judge did that made the decision on the injunction, was to extend the injunction to the point where we had to move our strike headquarters - the trailer - 200 yards away from the plant gate. This was - there was no evidence that there was any intimidation because there were only two pickets during this time when this order was in effect, but they still got an order prohibiting that trailer from being within 200 yards of that plant. I can't see the reason behind that at all, but it seems like apparently they can provide no rule on injunctions at all, they can grant, including a complete injunction against picketing.

Now, our lawyers informed us that it would be foolish to try and gain any





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further pickets because we were very incensed at being reduced to two and we were very incensed that we had an injunction whatever.

THE COMMISSIONER: Did you ever read the affidavits that were before the judge on the application?

MR. WATSON: No, because it never came to trial.

THE COMMISSIONER: But did you ever read them?

MR. WATSON: No.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, why

THE COMMISSIONER: No, but

didn't you, to see what they said?

MR. WATSON: Well, quite frankly, we are not very convinced that the trial by affidavit was going to accomplish ----

what you say is that these injunctions are issued without any proper evidence. And you emphasize the fact that you couldn't cross-examine and you were simply helpless. But I would have thought the first thing you would want to know was what these people had set forth in their affidavit.

MR. WATSON: Well, our legal counsel was in a position to check them.

THE COMMISSIONER: Did he

get copies of them?

MR. WATSON: Well, we were informed what was in them, yes; hammering on





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car hoods but the people were doing that in a joking manner and this is what I indicated to you before. Part of the affidavit was hammering on car hoods and I saw people themselves and I was standing right next to them and a foreman would be going in and one of the employees would be kidding. In fact, he would take a punch at his jaw and it was just in joking.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, people don't do that for fun when they are incensed.

MR. WATSON: But these people weren't incensed with this foreman. We had agreed that there would be no attempt made to keep those foremen out.

THE COMMISSIONER: But why would you make an attempt to keep anyone out?

MR. WATSON: Why not? We are on strike, mind you, and these people are fighting for their very jobs and their collective bargaining rights.

agree it is a most powerful influence on the mind, but you know many times we feel like lambasting somebody else and we don't do it and why?

MR. WATSON: But these people weren't lambasting.

THE COMMISSIONER: No, no, but





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I say many of us have, at times, felt like it.

MR. WATSON: Unless it was

a mental lambasting.

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, and we restrain ourselves, why? Because we are not permitted to do that.

MR. WATSON: Well, I would say with great respect, sir, that if our jobs were at stake, we don't know just exactly what we would do. If these people were living in a small town and on low wages and the very bread and butter that was coming to them was being risked by these people who are going through the picket line and this is enough to get them provoked.

MR. POLLOCK: How small a town is it?

MR. WATSON: It is two or three thousand, something like that.

MR. POLLOCK: Do you think the people who came to work there realized there was a strike going on there at the plant?

MR. WATSON: I would imagine that they realized there was a strike going on.

MR. POLLOCK: So to get to the people to tell them there was a strike going on, really was of secondary importance because they knew there was a strike on.





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MR. WATSON: They apparently knew but there were other things that we express to the people who go through a picket line to try and dissuade them from going through.

THE COMMISSIONER: But you see, the strike breakers were called by telephone and were told there was a strike on and, now this is Tilco and you are talking about Peterborough.

MR. WATSON: I am talking about
Listowell and this was a larger plant that
is still on strike and has been on strike since
November 21st and this is the one who asked
for the performance bond. I am suggesting to
you that this company threw in the performance
bond proposal in the eleventh hour with the
full realization that they could get an
injunction that would continue to operate.

the commissioner: Well, I can easily understand that they put it in simply to nullify any idea of negotiation.

MR. WATSON: Sure, to stop us from getting an agreement.

THE COMMISSIONER: That is probably the case.

MR. WATSON: Well we grant that point anyway.

THE COMMISSIONER: What I wanted to emphasize was that these things depend upon your ideas of the scope of your proper action.





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have to stop.

Now don't think for a moment that I am saying that I wouldn't likely do the same thing in your case, I am not saying that at all. But I am trying to get the realities of what took place.

MR. WATSON: Well, let me say this, that we feel the most limited steps that a person should be allowed to take in performing their duties as a picket, is to interrogate people and to try and dissuade them from going into the plant.

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, they will stop and listen, but they don't have to.

MR. WATSON: Well, they

MR. POLLOCK: Well, let me stop you at that point, Mr. Watson. There are many people who don't subscribe to the views that you hold. They are interested in their own economic livelihood and they want to go to work and you can talk until you are blue in the face and they are going to say, "I am going to work there, I am satisfied with those conditions". You can persuade and talk and cajole and do all kinds of things and these people are still going to go it, so you are wasting your time to even stop them and talk to them.

MR. WATSON: But the difference is this, that the first day three people went





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in and two of them breezed by that picket line. The first day of the injunction, there were about 40 or 50 scabs who went through the picket line.

MR. POLLOCK: Why?

MR. WATSON: I would say the picket line has a certain persuasive power in itself.

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, it has and for the very reason that you have in mind, that they will be stopped.

 $\label{eq:mr.watson:} \operatorname{MR.watson:} \quad \text{To stop and}$ talk to them.

THE COMMISSIONER: And if they don't pay attention, you will become worked up, as you say, in spirit and it is a fact and they won't go in because of fear.

MR. WATSON: Well, with regard to this affidavit you brought up, we know that some of the affidavits were for hammering on the hoods of cars, that is in the Listowell thing.

MR. POLLOCK: This is at Listowell?

MR. WATSON: Yes, and I am talking about Listowell because I was there and I viewed exactly what took place and the hammering that took place on cars was on the foreman's car and people were leaving to go in and they were just hammering on them in a





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joking way, if you can imagine that, and in fact,
I saw one guy give the foreman a poke in the
jaw and he was just kidding him, he was a
good friend of the foreman.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I thought we were dealing with the really more serious situation in Peterborough.

MR. WATSON: I don't know if it was more serious but I would suggest the situation in Listowell with 300 and where we were cut down to 2 pickets, is a more serious situation than where we have about 60 employees and they are cut down to about 12.

MR. POLLOCK: Did you have any notice of the Listowell injunction?

MR. WATSON: No.

MR. POLLOCK: None whatever?

MR. WATSON: Yes, I think we

had 24 hour's notice.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, you had more than 24 hours probably, if it was in a notice, but did you file any affidavits to support any evidence that would say it was all in a joking manner and that this thing was a joking thing?

Now, you were there, the judge wasn't there.

MR. WATSON: Well, I would say, with respect, Mr. Pollock, that anyone hitting the hood of a car and banging, that





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isn't violence.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: Could I say a word at this point that you are making on the questioning of the affidavits filed by the employer?

you made in Peterborough and Stan Rice attempted to answer that in Peterborough. But I think that this is a little more complicated than simply saying we didn't think they had any material point in the affidavit and I think it was said probably better by John Osler in his paper which, undoubtedly you have read and I would like to read this to you, it says:

"The details of the court activity will vary considerably from province to province depending on the legislation. The rules of practice, the details of the contact which the court is led to believe has occurred or will occur and as the order is decreed a discretionary one, the background and natural prejudices of the judge who hears the case, no man living is without prejudice and although the great majority struggle manfully to overcome





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it, even judges are not immune and, for this reason: the exact outcome of the application for injunction is seldom, if ever, completely predictable."

And this is the point I want to make and I think it perhaps answers your question "Why didn't you challenge the affidavit?".

"However, if one may be permitted to generalize, the resulting material, and I feel from reading a good number of the cases, that the same would follow in British Columbia, is that almost always there will be an order putting some restriction on the strikers if it is shown to the court that anything in the nature of physical obstruction is being present, any vile or abusive language used, probably by either side, any threats being made or damage, whatever done to a person, the clothing of such a person, an automobile, truck or any other property of a person seeking access to a plant. And, of course, if the slightest degree of violence has occurred. In addition the





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mere presence of a large number of persons standing or walking in front of the entrance to a plant will be considered intimidatory by the great majority of judges as will anything that will probably be understood by the term 'mass picketing'."

So, I assume the basis on which the judiciary looks at this kind of affidavit as applying to strikes, they would find cause, whereas we would take the attitude that these things would be better dealt with under other laws by the police present and that the results of such an injunction flowing from this kind of minor action is quite out of proportion.

So that it is quite true that we probably could challenge but if John Osler's position is correct, then, of course, they would find substance in points of the affidavit but we would not accept this as the kind of affidavit that would lead to an injunction.

you don't accept that as sufficient basis for the issue of an injunction. Of course, there is no doubt in the world that in your mind and in everybody's mind, a mass does intimidate and that is exactly what you have in mind. I don't criticize you for it. You feel it is





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necessary and you say that we have a right to do that and all I am suggesting is that in our present laws regarding the individual, you haven't any right to require a man to stop and listen to you. It may be desirable that you do have but at the present time you don't have it.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: But this answers your question, I hope, as to why we didn't challenge it.

THE COMMISSIONER: I have a great respect for Mr. Osler, and he does mention the fact that it is a rare individual who doesn't have some prejudices. I happen to have a prejudice against cigarettes, but I think I can understand that fact and it doesn't affect my thinking a bit. He admits that men do consciously consider that they mustn't be led in independent or neutral matters by these more or less irrelevant prejudices, and it is quite true that we act from, you might say, the mental furniture of our minds, but I think the history of our courts from the last five or six or seven hundred years will stand a good comparison with that of any other people on earth.

MR. POLLOCK: I just want to answer your query, Mr. Whitehouse. I think that your answer answers part of the question.

THE COMMISSIONER: I would like





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to finish this first. What were you going to say at the end?

MR. WHITEHOUSE: I just wanted to get back to the original position raised by Mr. Pollock in terms of bargaining in good faith.

MR. POLLOCK: I just want to say it answers part of the question because what Mr. Osler says is that even if the affidavit is true and you will agree that it is true, that you suggest that that material contained in that affidavit ought not to be enough to grant the injunction.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: That is right.

position on law. You have another position which you seem to mold into that as one on fact, that is the one Mr. Watson was making today that the facts as set out really aren't the facts and there wasn't any attempt to do these things and there wasn't this; it was all good-natured. Those types of arguments can be answered by the affidavit. You can say there was no obstruction and you can say that there was good-natured jostling and that kind of thing and you won't get an injunction in those circumstances.

You can establish it and I'm not going to say that you are not going to succeed.





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MR. SKURJAT: Mr. Commissioner,
I would like to say a few words with regard
to affidavits. In the Tilco case affidavits
were not true. They were not true with many
aspects. Now, I can give you the details
where, in our opinion, affidavits were not
true. For instance ---MR. POLLOCK: Let me stop

MR. POLLOCK: Let me stop
you there for a moment, Mr. Skurjat. You
should have given the details of that information
to the court at the time.

MR. SKURJAT: I appreciate that but we were not given the opportunity because it was an ex parte injunction.

MR. POLLOCK: You were given the opportunity on Monday.

MR. SKURJAT: We were not given the opportunity.

MR. POLLOCK: You were given the opportunity on Monday. I put it to you again; the injunction was granted late Friday afternoon and it continued in effect on Saturday, Sunday and Monday it was continued on consent.

MR. SKURJAT: Technically, that may be so and I am sure you know how the legal profession operates. A time for injunction was granted, it was Thursday, or Friday or Friday afternoon.

MR. POLLOCK: It was Friday

afternoon.





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MR. SKURJAT: You try to get a lawyer Friday afternoon and we were in a situation where none of the lawyers with the firm that we dealt was available. Frantically, we obtained the services of another lawyer who appeared on our behalf and there was no time to prepare anything. There was no time to prepare anything at all. I was in Peterborough and he phoned me around 2:00 o'clock or so and I said "I have got you a deal on 12 pickets, what do you think about that" and I said "Look, I don't know anything about it". Well, you know very well how these things operate and that is all. We were sitting there without being able to picket. We complied with the court order on Friday and we withdrew our pickets. So, it is all very well to say "technically" but how does it work in practice? Can you get affidavits submitted by Mr. Pammett which are half-truths?

MR. POLLOCK: Then you could have gone down and appeared on Monday.

MR. SKURJAT: The damage was already done. I am talking about the ex parte injunction. What happened in the case of ex parte injunction? We had no notice.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, let me answer that, if you want me to answer it.





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The injunctions came into effect late Friday afternoon and it was in effect on Saturday. There was some evidence that there might have been some people picketing on Saturday but assuming there wasn't. MR. SKURJAT: There was no

picketing on Saturday.

MR. POLLOCK: The plant wasn't open for production on Saturday?

MR. SKURJAT: I believe it

was, yes.

MR. POLLOCK: Was it open

on Sunday?

MR. SKURJAT: No.

MR. POLLOCK: All right, then on Monday, which is the next day that your injunction was continued, it was open for production. So, on that day you could have appeared in a court in Toronto and told your story.

MR. SKURJAT: When? Nobody knew when the hearing would take place.

MR. POLLOCK: Your lawyer

knew that.

MR. SKURJAT: The lawyer was waiting for hours and hours to get in there and you know what would have happened? Even if we were prepared to cross-examine the company's lawyer wouldn't be prepared to proceed. This is based on practice. The





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lawyer still has this. Then there would be another week's adjournment and if we were an contesting it would be automatic adjournment for at least a week, where would our strike be? Now, Mr. Pollock, you know very well how it works and you ask for adjournments many times yourself and, Mr. Commissioner, I am sure you know how it works because you have granted many of them. And that works in perpetuity. Then someone else isn't ready and someone else isn't ready and someone else isn't ready and your strike is going down the drain without one solitary picket at that plant.

MR. POLLOCK: But you don't understand my point and you don't have to cross-examine on that affidavit, to contradict. You can go or send some of your witnesses or whoever happens to be on the picket lines and knows of these things and they can appear in court at the hearing on Monday at the same time that the order went on consent, you could appear at that time and say that this is our story and the evidence will be taken down and the decision made on that day.

MR. SKURJAT: We didn't even see the affidavits until Monday.

MR. POLLOCK: You saw one for certain.

MR. SKURJAT: We saw the notice for motion and that is all I saw.

MR. POLLOCK: You never saw the





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order that was obtained ex parte?

MR. SKURJAT: Yes, the ex parte

order.

MR. POLLOCK: Did you not see the affidavit that was signed with that?

MR. SKURJAT: I didn't see

the affidavits at that time. The affidavits

weren't served on me until Mr. - what is his name
came to Peterborough and finally found me.

This is the point and it is very very difficult.

We were criticized for the decision and we agreed to the 12 pickets and looking back, I would say that that decision was wrong but at the time, when you are faced with nothing, you grasp for straws. What were we to do? The lawyer from Toronto phoned me and said "Look, I've got a deal for you, now what do I do? Do I agree?". And I said, "What if you don't agree?" and then it is going to be adjourned and if it is going to be adjourned ----

MR. POLLOCK: Well, perhaps it might not have been adjourned and perhaps you might have gone down to ask to see if you might testify.

MR. SKURJAT: Yes, but what would happen on that Monday afternoon? Would we be allowed to picket or would we not be allowed or would the order of the court continue? Now, can you answer me with any degree of





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certainly?

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MR. POLLOCK: Well, you can't

answer with any degree of certainty with any legal case.

MR. SKURJAT: Exactly, Mr.

Pollock, because we can't answer anything at all with any degree of certainty in any legal matter; what are we to do?

MR. POLLOCK: Well, you took 12 pickets, which according to you, wasn't a bad deal.

MR. SKURJAT: It wasn't a bad deal and I can say today, with a great degree of certainty, it was a bad deal and we should never have agreed to anything.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: We shall never agree to any voluntary limitations in the future.

MR. SKURJAT: You ask in Peterborough if anybody will give you an example of what was wrong with affidavits. First of all, in order of motion, which I saw and I don't have it with me, it was said that the strike was illegal. This strike was not illegal. Yet the company lawyer, who prepared the affidavit, said that the strike was illegal and there are other things that I can go on and on and on and say what was not true or what was half true on these affidavits. We still - to date - didn't get an opportunity





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to prove that the affidavits were wrong and I don't think we will ever have that chance.

MR. POLLOCK: But you had the opportunity at one time and you chose - for your reason - all right, and you didn't think you could do any better, 12 pickets, that's all right. You had that opportunity; you gave it away or sacrificed the opportunity for some other reason; it's the same, you settle for something you are sure of rather than take something you weren't sure of.

MR. WATSON: Well, I think
what they did was they accepted the advice
of their legal counsel to accept 12 pickets
because he probably told them it was fairly
lenient in the view of their ordinary practice.

MR. POLLOCK: I think he is probably right.

MR. SKURJAT: Well, that's the way it was put to me "That a deal" and in our experience we never saw anything better and you can't get anywhere if you get injunctions and you will never get anywhere anyway. This is the cynical view of the legal profession as well and we hear that in labour circles and from those who have dealt with the situation for years, that it is a completely cynical approach. Now, if I may try to answer you with regard to obstruction - and I am sure you are talking about obstructions - it seems to me that





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whenever there is a strike, then the object of the picket becomes, all of a sudden a magic circle, or what have you, I don't know how to describe them. I know that if I drive my car out of the parking lot, I wait until the people will thin down or I will inch my way through. Now both in the Tilco case and in Listowel, it seems to me that employers feel it will be obstruction if the pickets walk in front of their cars.

Who can stop, say, a two ton car? Who can stop it? Surely not four girls.

Mr. Commissioner, I would like to describe to you what is being done by employers insituations like that to obtain ex parte injunctions. In Peterborough, on the 14th day of December, 1965, Harold Pammett was on his premises before the picketing commenced. The picket lines were arranged by the entrances and driveways to the company premises. When he saw the pickets were there, he got into his car and backed it away from the driveway and at great speed tried to run the pickets down. They didn't jump so he stopped with gravel flying all over the place and saying, "That is what I was waiting for. I am going to call the police". He didn't try to inch through. He stopped 6 to 8 feet away from the pickets and said "That is what I was waiting for". It was planned from the





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very beginning.

THE COMMISSIONER: And you really fell into that trap that he set there?

MR. SKURJAT: You may say so, but it was cynical and deliberate.

THE COMMISSIONER: You don't have to emphasize that; I can quite understand that.

MR. WATSON: I would hardly call it a trap, Mr. Commissioner.

THE COMMISSIONER: But whatever you want to call it, it was pretty much like it.

MR. WATSON: I would say that. Look, in these cases, we feel there is an organized thing amongst the legal profession and they know which lawyer to go to in order to use influence to get an injunction.

THE COMMISSIONER: I wouldn't accept that and I think you are mistaken about that because I have had more experience with the judiciary than you have had.

MR. WATSON: Well, I wouldn't argue that point, sir.

THE COMMISSIONER: I think there is no doubt about it, Mr. Watson and don't think that I am not sympathetic and can't understand your position, because I can.





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MR. WATSON: Well, let me finish what I was going to say. I know that it doesn't sit very well with you, but this is what we feel: that there are certain lawyers who are very influencial and know the ropes as far as granting or getting injunctions is concerned. Some of these anti-union employers come to a certain point and then decide that they are going to take the union on, and part of taking the union on is to refuse to bargain a decent settlement with them, which is pretty difficult to deal with and the second step is to get an injunction in order to beat them and to get their employees into work. Because they know very well that if we have picket lines around a plant there are a lot of employees who will not cross that picket line. But if there are two forlorn people at a gate like in Listowel, then I am sure that this has not much effect in trying to keep the employees out.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, why isn't it when you have 400 against 4. If there are 400 men they won't go in and with four they will? What is the reason? Now what is there in the 400 that holds them back which is not present in the four?

MR. WATSON: There are many things. With some people, if their family minister were on the picket line they wouldn't





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go through or if some respected person in their neighbourhood was there, they wouldn't go through. But if it happened to be someone they probably worked in some other section of the plant and they said 'That so-and-so is out there picketing and we'll just walk through without any worry or concern". But if there are a number of people there, there are a lot of them who are their friends and it is evident to them very forcibly that here they are walking by their friends and they are taking over the jobs and hurting the jobs of their friends.

THE COMMISSIONER: What is the difference whether these 400 were at the gate or across the road?

MR. WATSON: They can't be across the road.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, they didn't have 400 but you had a house right across the road in there at Tilco.

MR. WATSON: It was a trailer.

I am sorry. At the Tilco plant you said?

THE COMMISSIONER: There were

a number of these strikers.

MR. SKURJAT: But it didn't help me any, Mr. Commissioner

THE COMMISSIONER: All I can say is this. There may be two kinds of influence. They may feel ashamed of it but I don't think that is very effective when they





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are willing to go in after the injunction has been granted. It may be fear.

Now, there is no doubt at all that the presence of 400 men, who think that you are stealing their jobs and who can present a rather formidable aspect.

MR. CLARK: Well, in answer to your remarks, sir, as to the difference of whether they are at the gate or across the road - if you ever saw a carload of scabs with the windows all steamed up and they can't see further than two feet, and if our pickets are across the road, they wouldn't see them if they went into the company.

MR. POLLOCK: Of course, they are not interested.

MR. CLARK: But we don't know this, Mr. Pollock.

MR. POLLOCK: They are in that car with the windows steamed up.

MR. CLARK: Because the car is load-holds ed, the boss has taken eight in a sedan that/six.

MR. POLLOCK: Because they

don't want to see those people. They know

there is a strike on and if what your brief

says - Pammett phoned them up and said to

them "We've got a strike on and if you'd like

a job, "and they came down on that basis."

MR. CLARK: Mr. Pollock, with respect, you know and the Commission knows that





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the union time in and time out, the company calls the workers in their home, "Come on down, we've got a job for you". The worker goes in the first morning and whether there is an injunction or not, then he finds that he has been duped, he has been sucked into coming into the plant and really the job belongs to somebody else and he comes out and says "I am not working there" and we've had them join our ranks by numbers this way. So don't say they know what they are coming to. He tells them lies over the telephone.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, let's take Peterborough. For the first three days there was no restriction on picketing. That is the 14th, 15th and 16th.

MR. CLARK: That is right.

MR. POLLOCK: So that people

went to work on those three days.

MR. CLARK: And people quit.

MR. SKURJAT: And no strike
breakers were employed during those three days.
There were some scabs. Now I wouldn't argue
so much. I have had differences with my
colleagues on this. I would say that we
have different definitions of scabs and
strike breakers and I am sure you know the
difference. Now, if a scab goes in after
I talk to him - he goes in - well he goes.
He hasn't taken my job away from me. But what





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about a strike breaker? Pammett in Peterborough said that the strike was finished; it wasn't legal; he got an injunction. And who knows what an injunction is? Now today more people are aware of what injunctions really are and until Peterborough, if you asked anybody on the street what an injunction was, he would say "I don't know". They call them injunctions and everything like that.

THE COMMISSIONER: That is true in Peterborough but in other places they know all about it as you know, now.

MR. SKURJAT: Now we know, yes, but how many union representatives even knew what an injunction was?

MR. POLLOCK: Well, you haven't been reading your material for the last 20 years because you've been complaining about it. You haven't done your homework, Mr. Skurjat.

MR. SKURJAT: Well, maybe

people know what an injunction means. Maybe

even lawyers don't even know to what an

extent a court order issuing an injunction

would imply. And people don't know about

injunctions and Pammett was saying in Peterborough

an injunction was a court order that he got

backing him and that was enough for some to

say "Well, the union did something wrong." The

union isn't even named in the injunction. They





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are individuals only.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, gentlemen, we are looking forward to seeing what can be done to remedy a situation like that. What would you say if you did away with all picketing and all strike breaking?

MR. WATSON: That would be fine. You do away with picketing and strike breaking. I would say, not completely, you would have to have some semblance of a picket line, unless you were to say that you do away with all picketing and all operation.

THE COMMISSIONER: No, if you can't control your own men, you see a thing like that would depend upon the solidarity of your own group but if you can't control your own group, you can't complain of other action.

MR. CLARK: That is quite right.

MR. WATSON: But there should be some limited ----

have a well organized group and I think that is the one fact that you have to look at and face, your strength. And I would be the last person to suggest that the organization of workers hasn't been of vital importance to the progress of our society. It has been. I think the criticism that is legitimately





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made is that for some reason or other you haven't succeeded in bringing the cohesion to your organization. But if you do have that cohesion and if you strike even a plant of that size and you have the majority of people with you and you may have two or three out but they don't affect the operation of the plant. If you go out and there is no strike breaking permitted, that plant stops production, for every substantial purpose.

MR. SKURJAT: But who is going to police it in this case? How would we know that it is respected by the other side?

MR. CLARK: I think sir, with respect, that your version would be very acceptable if the union, for instance, would have one person standing by the side of the driveway to observe who is going in or who is going out. This would be enough for the union.

THE COMMISSIONER: I would say that that would be a very proper procedure.

MR. CLARK: And to notify other unions, of course, that we have a strike here and I would be willing to think that is acceptable.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: Are you suggesting, Mr. Commissioner, that this would





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entail a formula to guarantee the job of the person who went on strike?

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, you continue to be employees, not withstanding the fact that you are striking. I don't think you appreciate that fact. Because it says you cannot divest a worker of that employee relationship by reason of the fact that he is not working.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: So that
Mr. Pammett is entirely wrong when he said or Mr. Pollock said he would never hire more
than five of those employees back again?

THE COMMISSIONER: But this is only a suggestion and I would like to know what you think of it.

MR. POLLOCK: Mr. Pammett is incorrect in his interpretation of the law.

MR. WATSON: I would agree,
Mr. Commissioner, that one of the things that
the elimination of strike breakers would allow
would be that there would be no one being hired
to take the place of the people on the picket
line. That, in itself ----

THE COMMISSIONER: But that is what we mean.

MR. WATSON: I am saying that this would be helpful in ensuring that the people's jobs would be protected. It's the strike breakers they hire to replace the ones





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that are out and this is the difficulty you have.

THE COMMISSIONER: But isn't that your chief difficulty? Metaphorically you say "Here we stand; our hands are tied; our feet are tied and we are helpless and we see men going in there occupying our seats".

MR. WHITEHOUSE: Could I ask Mr. Pollock a question and get this circle back to his original point on bargaining in good faith. If I interpret your remarks correctly as stated by the Star of April 7th in Peterborough, they quote you - well they don't quote you - but they say "besides, he added, no one as yet has been able to explain to the Commission just what bargaining in good faith really means". Now Section 12, simply says "shall bargain in good faith".

Are you agreeing with us then, that the Labour Relations Board doesn't know what bargaining in good faith is and it is very difficult to interpret section 12?

MR. POLLOCK: I think it is extremely difficult to interpret but I think that: as difficult as it is to interpret it is much more difficult to define it. That is for all purposes.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: Would you agree that the term "bargaining in good faith" in Section 12 is rather meaningless?





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this is almost.

MR. POLLOCK: No, because I think you can find areas that are clearly not good faith bargaining.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: Well, we thought Pammett's case was clearly an area of not bargaining in good faith.

MR. POLLOCK: But there are other cases, for example, the attitude which is "take it or leave it" that is determined not good faith bargaining or somebody saying "You are asking for \$1.20 an hour and I will give you 20 cents". That is not good faith bargaining. But those are easy cases.

MR. SKURJAT: Well, would you agree that if a person says "I will never sign an agreement with the union" or he will say "I will never have the union here" and that is in the middle of a negotiation and would you say that the person was bargaining in good faith? He didn't say that to you, naturally.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, he has already signed an agreement with you, hasn't he?

MR. SKURJAT: I know, but

MR. POLLOCK: When he offered you \$15 for retroactivity and you said "I will take it", you might have had it them.

MR. SKURJAT: But he has said repeatedly that he will never sign with the union or he said "I will never have the





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union here." Could you tell me, is that negotiating in good faith?

MR. POLLOCK: Well, let me ask you this. What you are saying is that Mr. Pammett was not a very reasonable man.

MR. SKURJAT: I would say that he wasn't bargaining in good faith.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: If we were saying that we would be much more profound about it.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, let me ask you how your suggestions would have had any effect in those circumstances where you suggest that there ought to be power to get this fellow back to the bargaining table.

this, that as far as that particular section is concerned, that there are going to be occasions where this will not work but there are also occasions where an agent has been required to bring the parties back. People stand up to him on principle and he must make the first move and this one has to make the first move, but you can't talk on the same principle as the United Nations, you can't talk unless you are sitting around the bargaining table. I thought in this recommendation at least we would be brought back to look at each other and the instrumentality is there for discussions. It isn't any guarantee,





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of course, as you say, but it would be productive.

MR. POLLOCK: You could be
certain in this particular case that you could
sit and bargain until you turn blue and nothing
would happen.

THE COMMISSIONER: Did the Board give reasons when it refused to find him guilty of not acting in good faith? Did they give reasons?

MR. SKURJAT: Well, the board found there was not enough evidence to grant leave to prosecute.

THE COMMISSIONER: But didn't you make an application on the penalty imposed against him for not negotiating in good faith?

MR. SKURJAT: Well, we applied for permission to prosecute the company - the Tilco company - and the board refused to grant the permission.

THE COMMISSIONER: Did they give a reason?

MR. SKURJAT: Yes, they gave the reason - it was very highly legal and technical, you know, and I really didn't understand the reason.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, you must have just read the last page where it said you lost the meeting and you didn't like it.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: If I can say again, Mr. Commissioner, if I can recall - again





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I haven't got the document - and this is where we suggest it might be fruitful for you to look at the evidence we presented there and their decision rejecting our application for the right to prosecute, but if I were asked to make a comment on this, I would say the point the board really hinged its decision on - and I stand to be corrected because it is simply from memory at the moment - it was was the mere fact that Mr. Pammett said that he would be prepared to rehire five people constituted evidence of bargaining in good faith - that it was this kind of technicality that he made the gesture that he would take five back, something of this technical nature.

MR. SKURJAT: The board based this on one meeting only and maybe our presentation was also based on this one meeting. On that basis the board went along without so many things but it did refuse to grant permission to prosecute.

MR. WATSON: I think it might have been easier to get permission to prosecute if the Act was strengthened and that is why we say section 12 should be strengthened.

Certainly, that is a case in point.

MR. POLLOCK: I have read the story of the Tilco Plastics in Peterborough - probably a conservative estimate is forty times - in different briefs, and some of them don't run





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with the others. Even the union ones don't all run together. Now we've got the horse's mouth before us and I would like to find out and I think it opened with the comment that Mr. Skurjat made that those strike breakers were engaged before the injunction was in effect. Is that right?

MR. SKURJAT: That is correct, to my knowledge. Now, to my knowledge, Mr. Clark was there, and to my knowledge there were no strike breakers engaged during the first three days.

MR. POLLOCK: During the first three days? Then all the strike breakers - or substantial numbers - were engaged during the ex parte injunction when you had no pickets which was Saturday.

MR. SKURJAT: It was mainly Monday and quite a number of them.

MR. CLARK: Well, I was there,
Mr. Pollock, if I may. Friday afternoon,
Saturday and Sunday, Mr. Pammett was on the
telephone to various people, relatives - and
Peterborough is not that big a city and they
have relatives and relatives and relatives. His
plea was that "Monday morning, I am opening my
plant and now that I have the injunction, there
will be no interference from any strikers or
anything else. You are free to come into the
plant". And on Monday morning he had himself





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carloads of new, completely new people, who had never worked there before. As a matter of fact, he even brought in a girl he had fired five months before or six months before - he rehired her.

MR. POLLOCK: So he saw the error of his ways?

MR. CLARK: He suddenly found himself a gold mine.

MR. SKURJAT: They were carried by employer's cars, Mr. Pammett's and others. There was no opportunity. He didn't even say "We are still on a legal strike despite the injunction or anything else". We were never afforded the opportunity to say anything because they just went through the picket line and I am sure you know from the evidence in Peterborough Magistrate's Court of the trouble.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, I don't think that you are deluding yourself and perhaps you are deluding yourself if you feel that telling those people in the cars simply that you are on strike "Don't cross", that they couldn't cross. I think some people can be persuaded but I don't think that these people that were called up - they knew of the strike and they knew someone else had been working there and that the place was on strike. They were told "When I get my injunction, there





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won't be any problem" and I am paraphrasing what you said, Mr. Clark, "come to work" and they went through. Even on the day that the large demonstration occurred - and there again the estimates go from 200 to 400 - whatever there were, the people still came to work.

They went in ----

MR. SKURJAT: But they were in cars already. Now we have six and maybe out of the six one was sympathetic and she was already in the car. He is not going to stop and let her out, so she is a captive and she went in.

MR. POLLOCK: But she goes home at night and she might not go back and some of those people didn't go back.

this, Mr. Pollock, in rebuttal. That is not how it works. For example, a very sober trade unionist in Peterborough, in the Outboard Marine plant, his son went to work there, his own son, sixteen years of age, who really and truly hadn't grown mature enough to understand the difference. When his father found out at 5:00 o'clock at night that he was working at Tilco, I can assure you, his son got the best lesson he had in a long time. But this is to rebut your argument; they just don't understand. They think that with this injunction it nullifies the union and there isn't





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a strike anymore and they are free to do what they like.

MR. POLLOCK: But your argument would seem to gain in stature if those people who went to work and then quit and other new people came in - but there was some turnover, but the core of people that went in to work there almost from the first, remained.

MR. CLARK: No, no, with respect, Mr. Pollock, you see we are talking about a real small number of people, something like 17 or 18 strike breakers, if you want to use that term to define them from scabs. Out of the 16 or 17, I would say that in the short space of that strike, it might have revolved two times. There might have been a complete change twice - or maybe going into the third His scabs stayed with him; that is the scabs who stayed in the plant. But the ones who were hired, when we found out where they lived and went to their homes and talked to them and explained the problem, some joined the picket line, some quit going into work and then they would replace them and he had a pretty good turnover. So much so that he was screaming at our President one day and he said "I have got the lousiest bunch because you don't let them stay long enough to get experience".





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MR. SKURJAT: Well, I think in answer to your question, once a person makes a decision, right or wrong, they want to justify it, like getting into cold water. Now I am in, it is not so bad, but you will appreciate this point, Mr. Pollock, I am sure. If a person went in and said "I am in, so I am in". Many times that person possibly, if talked to at the very first, would be sympathetic and it would give some support and he would say then "Well, I went in, how are they going to consider me now". This is the point.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, they consider you probably stronger if you are talking about this person going in and finding out about it and saying "I didn't know about it, I am coming out".

MR. SKURJAT: But the decision has been made and don't we all tend to stick to the decision sometimes - you know, when we have made them, right or wrong? And this is the point.

MR. WATSON: People are different. But one thing I would like to bring to your attention. You were saying there is no difference from the 200 to 400 people who were demonstrating and the people still went in. I would like to point out that the 200 to 400 didn't try to interrogate or





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dissuade anybody from going in. They were there for another purpose.

MR. POLLOCK: Talking to people from all sides about the Peterborough situation and seeing movies, and also television shows, and there were conversations and discussions at the gate as the cars went through. There were shouts.

MR. WATSON: Were these demonstrators?

MR. POLLOCK: Yes, they must have been because there was this one place that showed a fellow with a white Stetson hat and I don't know what his name was but he was there and he wasn't one of the Tilco pickets. I don't know what he was saying.

MR. WATSON: Was he talking to one of the strike breakers?

MR. CLARK: He might have been yelling to someone across the road too, Mr. Pollock.

MR. POLLOCK: He might have been home in bed which would probably be better for him too.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: I might make this point that hasn't been made before and there was one picture of Mr. Pammett struggling through a crowd of pickets with signs. This was taken, I believe, inside a drug store and Pammett went in and said he was going to get





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himself some cigars and he was going to go
through that line and get himself some cigars
and I believe he had an altercation with the
police about trying to do this and it would
seem to us that this is a direct attempt at
provocation. There really is no need to push
your way through 200 people to get a box of
cigars from across the road. This is the
kind of thing that you face and in my opinion
this was sheer provocation.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, it may well have been and I would be the last person to try and justify any of that type of activity. We are not taking a vote as to who is popular and who isn't and who ought to have done something else. We are trying to find out

the realities of the situation, what are the elements, what are the important ones and what are the by-products and how do these things work, how does the strike really operate in an actual situation and this is why we are probing all these things. I may seem naive in some of the questions I ask but I understand some of these things.

MR. WATSON: Well strikes operate differently depending on the operation. For instance, the strike in Peterborough operated a lot differently than the one in Listowel and you get a strike such as Hamilton at the Stelco plant and in Hamilton they don't





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have to worry about pickets. The plant just shuts down and the company can't operate because of the physical set-up and the fact that they are not going to have enough employees and they have to have a pretty substantial work force.

Now this, you see, is just a state of more or less seizure. The plant shuts down and the employees are without their wages and the company is without their production.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well,

that is the object of it.

MR. WATSON: Yes and you see our objective is, in a strike, it is to shut down the company production and in order to get a bargain, then we already have. So our people are trading off their wages and living on a pretty low standard of living during that time. On the other side, the company is losing profits and not filling orders or maybe have some other company fill them for them or maybe the other company has taken away their orders. So this is a state of siege between them and it is a real war between the two sides as to which is going to give in and usually they come to a compromise and where you have violence or any kind of thing like that on a picket line, is where the company tries to bring in strike breakers usually, and they run them





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through the picket lines by various methods.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, that really is the black beast in this conflict,

the strike breaker.

MR. WATSON: That is right.

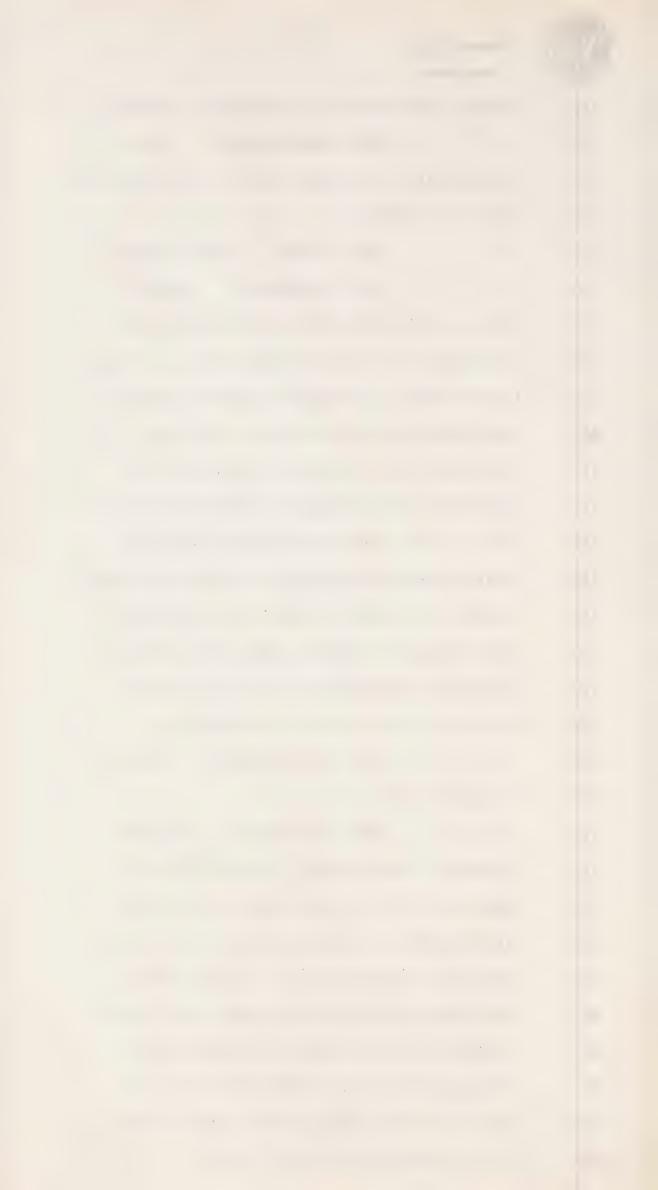
MR. WHITEHOUSE: Could I

make a distinction here which I believe is valid and I am sure you understand it. There is the kinds of industries and the kinds of employees we have to unionize, it is our contention and I think this is the sort of theme that runs through our presentation today that in this particular industry, given an employer that really wants to oppose the union and does not want to establish a collective bargaining relationship, given this attitude and given a replaceable work force, that is one that is not tied to a high skill ---

THE COMMISSIONER: And not too many of them.

a supply of that labour, then the right to establish a trade union effectively and the right to have a collective agreement is quite frequently circumscribed. In other words your collective bargaining rights are denied if given these conditions to large groups of people that we have responsibility for.

And this is the point we are trying to make and I am sure you are aware of this.





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MR. POLLOCK: You make it very well in the illustration you put forth now and also the one in the brief, but the weakness of your bargaining position is the lack of economic strength which is something that is inherent in the strike weapon. You have to be economically strong to win a strike. If the employer is stronger than you economically and he can wait it out, then you are dead. If you can close his plant and wait longer than he can, then you win.

MR. WATSON: That is 100 per cent true.

MR. POLLOCK: So far, our legislation, as I understand the operation of the American and the Canadian scheme of labour legislation, it provides - or has nothing to do with the relative strength of the parties. The legislation takes them as they find them with this one exception, that instead of having the fight for recognition originally to get this fellow to the bargaining table by using the same weapons that you have now, the actual fights and the pickets and the wars that they used to have in the thirties, the Labour Relation Board says "Get me a majority of people to sign their names to this thing and I will give you a piece of paper with a big red seal and you can go to your employer and he is compelled by law





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to sit down and talk to you. Now, he is not compelled to listen to you and he is not compelled to agree with you. If you can't get him to sign an agreement, then you still resort to the old weapon of striking. If you are economically strong you will wipe him out and if you are economically weak, you will lose your strike. He appreciates that and you appreciate that. Now the question is the realization of when you say to him, "I will go on strike" and he may think you are stronger than you really are and in some cases you may think that you are stronger than you really are. But once you get to the strike line, the thinking is over, both parties can look and see "Can I get along without him? Yes I can". The Toronto newspapers had that experience and that is the whole question.

Now how does the government -if this is what you are asking - how does the government step in to now bolster up a weak party. You can have weak employers and they can't stand a one day strike or you can have a weak union that can't stand to be on strike for two years and nothing would happen.

Now, how do you differentiate between who is right and when you step in to bolster them up or when you don't?

MR. SKURJAT: Well, the problem





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is when the injunction appears.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, we have talked about injunctions before. I would like Mr. Whitehead to answer this.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: I was not about to be profound. You really made the point. I think this balance of social and economic situation is an important function of the law, but what I was about to say was that we will accept our situation and we will accept the differential in economic power, but don't tie our hands and feet with the injunction so that that balance of power is swung completely onto the side of the employer. And I think this is precisely what the injunction did in Tilco as per Pammett's statement that we have quoted, that without the injunction we would have had him.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, you agree with him in some things he says.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: And it is the Listowel situation, it is the tipping of the social and economic balance entirely in the favour of the employer, given the circumstances in our position that we are so concerned about ----

MR. POLLOCK: Well, let me return to that question. If the withdrawal or if the strike is the withdrawal of labour and if the success of those other areas in





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economic strength of the union is that they can withdraw a large number of people who can't a be replaced, or/highly skilled unit which can't be replaced, that is your economic strength. They don't have to picket at all and they can go home and that is the end of it.

Now, in your situation, where people can be replaced, that weapon is more realistic to the employer, he can use it and the other weapon - and believe me if Stelco could find 600 people to take those jobs, they would take them - so it is a question of reality of the situation.

In the Tilco situation, you have a replaceable work force and then you have to say "Well, all right, we are not economically strong as our brothers in Hamilton are, we have to prevent, somehow, the replacement of our people when they are on strike". So you take or you persuade them and say "Don't go in our plant because we are on strike". Then you eliminate some people who are trade union people and are committed to this feeling and they won't go in there. You also appeal to other people who just feel that it is not just to steal somebody else's job or you may communicate the information that he is not a very nice man to work for and that kind of thing. All right, you still don't succeed at that level and there are still people who





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prepared to go in there and work.

The next question is "What will our society grant you in your arsenal to prevent or dissuade those people from coming across". Clearly they won't let you beat them up. Clearly they won't let you keep them by fear, that they are afraid of getting beat up and further, you can't physically stop them and prevent them and hold them back, even if you don't hurt them. You can't do those things now. So what is left to you other than to tell them what your story is if you can't do those other things.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: Well, of course, you are looking at the solution as a commissioner. Even the telling of the story is not available to us on an ex parte injunction because they hardly know who the new striker is. He is probably quite unaware of the situation and we can't educate him. It may not even be a matter of intimidation. It may be a matter of getting to the person before you know who he is. The answer, of course, is that you have already stated the case that probably the highly skilled, irreplaceable craftsman is perhaps not so much concerned as we are so that really, you are looking at this - I would suggest - perhaps even a small majority group of industrial workers who need these changes in legislation





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to provide them the right of collective bargaining as is specified in the Labour Relations Act and I think that if we could really get to the position where strike breaking is frowned upon by the law - let us put it this way - where the jobs are secure to the worker who comes out and it is an economic battle between the loss of wages of the employee and the loss of profits to the employer, because the employer - and let us not fool ourselves is not entirely without income so I will not deal with that, but the employee has strike relief because you and I know that that is an infinitesimal part of a normal salary and certainly not enough to get to Florida on. So it should be a purely economic struggle between loss of earnings on the part of the employee and loss of profit on the part of the employer. And the legislation ought to remove all the other obstacles that make this/unequal battle in those terms and I think this is the kind of principle we are trying to state in that brief.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, I think

you make the point very well. One comment

I would ask about in that last statement of

yours; you said strike breaking ought to be

against the law. If you can get the people

in this province - and I don't know why, perhaps

you don't either and this may be all of our





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problem - why the people in this province

don't abhor strike breaking as much as they

do in other countries. Maybe your general

educational factors of the trade union and

maybe that is something you have to do and

maybe that would increase the support that

striking people get from the general community

because of some educational points.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: With all due respect, Mr. Pollock, I have an Old Country background of 25 years ago and I have now been here 18 years and I would suggest to you that the social and political climate of North America makes it a rather raw society which I regret. There isn't the acceptance of the trade union movement, generally speaking, I would say, in industry in North America as there is in a more mature society and I believe that will only progress in terms of the kind of legislation undoubtedly Mr. Rand is thinking of, when you establish a maturity that accepts each other and where the employer accepts the union movement and bargaining. You've been to Australia and I think there is some legislation that makes union membership compulsory under certain circumstances?

MR. POLLOCK: Yes, under some circumstances, but it is not very significant. It runs probably the same degree





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as our closed shop.

MR.WHITEHOUSE: But most certainly in the operation of society and in various areas of society I believe there is much more acceptance of the working class movement of the trade union movement in these other societies rather than in North America. It still seems to me to be a rather raw point.

think there is some suggestion made that
you are responsible yourselves for organizing
the unorganized because you have really acted at least it has been reported that you have
acted in a manner that repels some groups.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: Well, we wouldn't accept that.

THE COMMISSIONER: What do you mean you won't accept it?

MR. WHITEHOUSE: We wouldn't accept it.

THE COMMISSIONER: It doesn't impress me that you say you wouldn't accept it. The question isn't whether you would accept it or reject it, the question is whether it is fact or not, and I would say that in North America, in the United States, and we follow the United States, there has been a reputation raised by some of the organizations of labour that has given it a bad name. There have been performances in strikes that have given labour





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a bad name, a badge of things that great numbers of people are repelled by and it seems to me and I think your weakness is in your failure of a broader organization and a cohesion in that organization that wouldn't permit people to deter the union obligation by what you call a scab or to injure your action by what you call a strike breaker.

In Australia those things are not considered. Why not? Because there is a depth of taking things for granted that won't permit it.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: I would say,
Mr. Commissioner, that the reaction of the
automobile manufacturers and the original
organizations of the Ford workers wouldn't
show a degree of maturity by the corporation
in those days, as you personally know.

that the corporations are any more mature
than you are. I don't say "you" - you can
take it as a whole.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: This is precisely my point and when I say it is a rawness; of society, which I regret.

THE COMMISSIONER: But on the other hand, the fact is that some of the performances have repelled some of the groups.

Now you realize that you can't make much progress with 26 per cent of the workers





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organized. That is of the working class being organized. You've got to have more than that or you are not going to achieve that independence by resorting to measures that are repellent.

If you are strong enough you don't have to resort to that sort of thing.

MR. CLARK: With respect, Mr.

Commissioner, I am an organizer and the day
you people can stop employers from threatening
the very jobs that the Italian people in
this city and the foreign workers that don't
even begin to understand the laws that we
have got, we'll organize the textile industries,
sir.

THE COMMISSIONER: I didn't quite understand your first statement.

MR. CLARK: You say we have to organize more than 26 per cent of our industry. As a union, we would love to but when we go to an Italian plant down here on Queen Street or up here on Spadina Avenue and we start to organize them, we get maybe 35 or 45 per cent of the girls signed up and the boss calls a meeting inside and says "The next one who joins the union is fired".

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, that is prohibited by our law. Have you ever tried to do anything else?

MR. CLARK: These people

are terrified.





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THE COMMISSIONER: I suppose they have come over?

MR. CLARK: Well, Mr. Commissioner,
I have had people in this city, this year, draw
their drapes when I have been in talking to
them about joining a union and the only reason
they draw their drapes is because they are
afraid that someone will see them talking to
a union organizer and report it to the company.
This is the land we are living in and we would
love to organize more, with respect.

MR. SKURJAT: During the war I was a member of the underground in Europe. Now organizing here takes me back to underground activities and this is just about the size of it. You don't openly say that "I am organizing here"because if you do, that is the end of your organizing. You have to do it in an underhand manner and, as Mr. Clark just said, I think it is terrible in this society we have to resort to underground tactics to organize free people.

THE COMMISSIONER: And the same thing applies to those who aren't foreigners, in that sense?

MR. CLARK: In some cases, yes, sir. It depends on the amount of information they have regarding our laws and how much experience they have in the labour field but you will find especially in Metropolitan areas





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where there is a high degree of immigrated people, that it is very shocking.

MR. WATSON: Mr. Commissioner, I have had quite a bit of experience in union movement, in organizing and it possibly isn't as bad today as it used to be but I have been in some small towns and we wouldn't even dare to go near a hall because of the fact that the employer would find out. And there is a great deal of fear on the part of people and the lower waged people, you would think they wouldn't have to depend on that job and they would be less fearful, but these are the people who are more fearful. The people who have better jobs are more inclined to say "Well, I've got rights". For instance, the difference in the law between Ontario and Quebec and the security they have under the Labour Relations Act, where the company can fire them for union activity. In Ontario you have to show and to prove the employer fired this person for union activity. A person could be fired and fired unjustly and the boss can fire that person and say "You are fired for being late six months ago. You were late once six months ago". You've got to prove that that person was fired for union activity.

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, but he can't say you were late six months ago, all





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that has been waived.

MR. WATSON: Not in the society that he works under. He has no regulations ----

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, isn't

that an arbital fact, a dismissal?

MR. WATSON: Not unless you have a contract. I am talking about getting into basic organization. In Quebec, for instance, if a person, during an organizing campaign is fired for unjust reason - and it doesn't have to be for union activity - then the Labour Board will reinstate that person with back pay. But in Ontario - and we have had actual cases - people have been fired for unjust reasons and so the boss admits "Well, perhaps I didn't have reason to fire them but I didn't fire him because of union activity. I didn't even know he was in the union" and so you lose the case. You lose one case like that and your whole campaign - the bottom drops out of it.

MR. POLLOCK: What do you suggest?

MR. WATSON: I would suggest if anybody is fired during a campaign to organize a group of people and it is proven he was fired unjustly, that the Board have the power to reinstate them with back pay and this would be a great deal of help. I know in Quebec we get people reinstated and





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in Ontario we don't. I remember one campaign in Hamilton three years ago, a person was fired and she was one of the best workers in the shop and she was fired for union activity because the boss felt that she started the union, but she didn't start the union. The boss thought she did and she wasn't reinstated.

MR. POLLOCK: But that

doesn't solve your problem in the example

you just gave, where the employer says

I didn't even know she was in the union and

it kills your organizational campaign. Reinstate—
the

ment certainly solved / problem for the

individual who is discharged but again, on

those facts, even if they found that there

was an unfair labour practice the organizational

campaign would still be alive, wouldn't it?

MR. WATSON: But the point is that they use this. For instance, we have in the States the G.P. Stevens Company and they are going to the Supreme Court this fall or next to the Supreme Court and they may not go to the Supreme Court. They have never reinstated any of the employers but the labour board has ordered them to reinstate them. They have never reinstated them and they are going to the next procedure. These people, some of them were fired as long as 3 and 4 years ago. Now that campaign fell on its face. There were about 60 thousand





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G.P. Stevens employees not organized and a very dramatic example in the south where the south isn't organized and he will keep on doing that until someone puts a stop to his actions. And the fear of employees, this is what has been pointed out and this is what I am saying, that there is a terrific fear amongst employees that they are going to lose their jobs if they join a union. And if you can abolish that fear, in other words, we are not saying that a person should not be fired if they have reason to be fired but if they are in an organizing campaign and they are fired unjustly, then they should be reinstated. And you shouldn't have to prove they were fired for union activity in order to get them reinstated. If they are fired unjustly, reinstate them with back pay and that will reinstate the confidence of the other people. You leave that person out and the boss can say as much as he wants if he didn't know she was in the union, but those people know damned well he does know she was in the union.

MR. SKURJAT: How many
establishments are there - and this again
is low wage plants we are talking about because
unfortunately - or maybe fortunately - we do
represent employees whose wages are in the
main, very low, possibly the very bottom of





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totem pole. How many times an employer would say to the employee "Well you bring in the union, that will be the end. I will put the key in and I'll close the plant".

MR. POLLOCK: That may be true and in some cases they probably would wipe him out if he had to pay reasonable wages.

MR. WATSON: There haven't been too many cases where they shut the plant down. They always say it, however. We would feel rather strange if they didn't say that.

MR. WHITEHOUSE: I would like to correct Mr. Pollock, if I could, and I know you didn't mean it when you said "reasonable wages". Our experience is that with relatively fair wages you get a higher union cost of production.

MR. POLLOCK: Well a lot of people are in business competing perhaps because they are second rate managers, or something and the only way they can compete is if they can employ people at cheaper rates and if they have to bring them up to the same standard as some other company, they probably couldn't compete on that basis and they would have to go out of business.

MR. WATSON: Maybe they shouldn't be in business.





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 $$\operatorname{\mathtt{MR}}$.$ POLLOCK: Well, that is a good point.

MR. WATSON: I think that is one of the responsibilities that management has to take - that they are able to supply a fair wage to people.

MR. POLLOCK: But that is not much of an answer to the fellow who is warned, in Mr. Skurjat's argument, that if you get the union in I will close up my plant and if that, in fact, does happen, he is not getting his \$1.10 or whatever it is.

MR. SKURJAT: It is not necessarily because of economics either.

THE COMMISSIONER: But you might have a place with small industry and they make a living there. If you were to bring that under the standard of a city you could drive the proprietor out of business.

MR. CLARK: Mr. Commissioner,
with respect, sir, the trend today is for
industry, very, very prosperous industries,
I might add, to move into the north. Not
to move there because of any reason for I mean Collingwood and Midland, in around there they move there because they think that they will
take advantage of your argument.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, the cost of living might be less.

MR. CLARK: But it doesn't





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remain that way.

THE COMMISSIONER: That is true, then wages go up.

MR. CLARK: But why should an employer move into an area simply to get cheap wages?

thinking of an employer who did it for the purpose of getting reduced costs. Take the business that went into the linen business - the textile business - of New England that moved down to the southern States. There is no doubt that they have in mind to escape organized labour. I don't mean that at all. I mean that if you have a business that has gone on through generations and it is in a small community and the community is more or less one large family and I can quite understand that the introduction of modern methods are appropriate to a metropolis and would cause difficulty there.

MR. CIARK: Well, he sells his product, sir, into the metropolitan area.

THE COMMISSIONER: And the only way he can do it is by paying the lower wages.

MR. CLARK: No, with respect, sir; we have a seat belt company in Midland making automobile safety seat belts. When we went there, they were paying \$1.05 or \$1.10,





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just over the Ontario minimum wage rate - the same basic type of company is in Windsor making the identical seat belt for the automobile industry and they are paying \$1.75 and \$1.85. Now what is the owner of this plant in Midland doing with the excess profit that he makes from paying \$1.05 and \$1.10?

THE COMMISSIONER: Is it the same degree of machine?

MR. CLARK: Yes, it was a brand new, modern plant that he put in there.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, he could bring it in but I wasn't thinking even of that.

MR. CLARK: He took advantage of every one of the modern techniques.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I
was thinking instead of electric power you
have water power - the old mill turning around.

MR. CLARK: There are very few of those left, sir. For instance, you could run a grist mill with one and I wish they did because you get better flour from it.

MR. POLLOCK: Perhaps I could ask - not a question, but an undertaking. In some of your liesure time you might consider giving consideration to the drafting of the definition of bargaining in good faith and send it down to us. It might be of some





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assistance.

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THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I can't

THE COMMISSIONER: It seems to me that it depends upon the nature of the exchange. You ask him to deal with you to negotiate with you. You have certain propositions to make to him. You have something to say on wages and you have something to say on conditions of employment and that sort of thing and you give the reasons why you think this ought to be changed or that ought to be changed or why the wages should be increased and you support that by the considerations that are relative to it. I would say that in order to act in good faith, he must consider those grounds that you urge seriously. Now if he does that and tries to answer them, or confesses that he can't answer them, then he is acting properly.

MR. WATSON: Well, I think we will take Mr. Pollock up on the suggestion but I would suggest also that the companies - if the companies didn't have what we call a union-busting tool - the injunction - they might be more inclined to bargain in good faith. That is, if they didn't have this to fall back on. We think that this is the most serious thing that poses our union movement today.

If he doesn't do that, then he isn't.





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say that I am sure that is right because I think the real danger to you is the man who takes your possession. And you may say that an injunction opens the door and clears the way but if they are willing to break it in your absence, then they will except through fear, break it in your presence.

MR. WATSON: I don't think it is a panacea for us, but we feel it has worked against our best interest.

THE COMMISSIONER: In some cases it has.

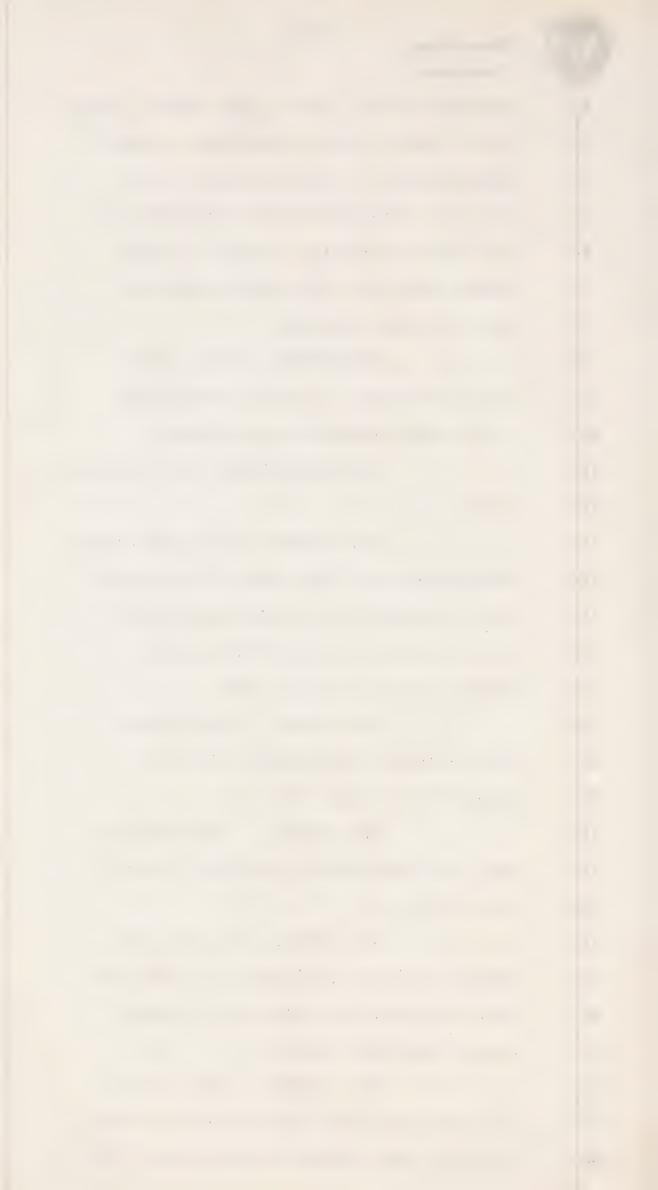
MR. POLLOCK: In the past seven years, 1958 to 1965, you have had 13 strikes that are reported in the Carruther's study and you have had two injunctions granted against you, that is up to 1965.

MR. WATSON: Well, you see what the trend is, Mr. Pollock, this all developed in the last year or so.

MR. POLLOCK: But I want to know - well you had one in 1958 and you had one in 1965.

MR. WATSON: But what I am saying is, in the last year or so, the trend has been towards injunctions and it seems to be a specialized thing.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, I don't think that holds from the statistical analysis but what I want to ask is what happened in the





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other disputes where there were no injunctions.

Did you win your dispute every time?

MR. WATSON: I would think

if you won a strike or not, you get some

compromise that provides you with an agreement

and I think some people probably in the

bargaining really felt they had lost and

other people thought they had won but at

least we come to some conclusion and all

we are saying is that we expect or try to

have a fair fight with the employer and

not have him have some weapon that he can

give or take unfair advantage of us.

THE COMMISSIONER: I think
the very vocabulary you use is not calculated
to make your negotiations any more pleasant.
You refer to people as if they were in some
sort of serious warfare and Walter Reuther
comes out with the greatest victory that
has ever been achieved.

one thing - that some of the victories they have achieved, if you want to call it that and some of the battles they have been in to get things, then when the new employee now starts at Ford the company is saying "Now here are some of the things that we are giving the workers" and it maybe took them six month's battle to get those concessions.





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that that is persistence, that is obvious, it is like the big headlines in the paper; you blow up things that are not worth blowing up and the vocabulary you use.

MR. WATSON: Well, maybe you are affected by the general thing that goes on these days but in any event, we are apt to think in terms of the strike as a battle with the employer. It is a last resort battle, let me assure you.

MR. CLARK: Mr. Pollock, did

I understand your question differently when
you said that we'd win or lose those disputes?

MR. POLLOCK: Well, you say that the cause of the defeat in most cases was the injunction. I just wanted to say that in 11 cases, you didn't have injunctions so you must have won.

MR. CLARK: Well we didn't lose our bargaining rights. We either came to an agreement or we were still in there.

Whether we got a little gain or a big one we don't know.

MR. POLLOCK: But you settled something. I don't think it was the injunction that caused you to lose at Tilco. I think perhaps even without the injunction that Mr. Pammett might not have been too reasonable.





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comment about that.

MR. WATSON: I think that with guys like Pammett we need all the support we can get.

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$ CLARK: Well, Mr. Pammett wants to live in the thirties.

MR. POLLOCK: Well, thank
you very much for appearing today, gentlemen.
This meeting is adjourned until

10:00 o'clock tomorrow morning.

---Adjournment











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